

KESHIF
E-Journal for Ottoman-Turkish Micro Editions



Edited by:

Aysu Akcan, Ercan Akyol and Gisela Procházka-Eisl

Guest editors of this volume:

Sümeyye Hoşgör Büke and Deniz Özeren

Technical Editors:

Müge Akbulut and Sümeyye Akça

No. 3/2

Special Issue on Ottoman Consumption

Spring 2025

ISSN 2960-4311

Scientific Advisory Board:

İpek H ner (Boğazi i University, Turkey)

Katharina Ivanyi (University of Vienna, Austria)

Sibel Kocaer (Bandırma Onyedi Eylul University, Turkey)

Yavuz K se (University of Vienna, Austria)

Marinos Sariyannis (IMS/FORTH, Greece)

A. Tun  Şen (Columbia University, USA)

Keshif is a peer-reviewed electronic journal dedicated to collecting and editing small, fine texts and providing easy, free access to the material through a database with sound search functions.

Layout:

S mmeye Hoşg r B ke

Deniz  zeren

Contents

Eyüp Ensar Dal.....	1
Dressing Primary School Children in Mid-Eighteenth Century Istanbul	
Tunahan Durmaz.....	10
Insatiable Hunger: A Court Physician's Account of Dog-Hunger in the Seventeenth Century	
Özgür Gündiken.....	21
Receipt from Court Jeweler Haronaci Efendi to the First Secretary of Abdülhamid II	
Sümeyye Hoşgör Büke	28
Post-March Daily Allocations (Ta'yināt) of Darendeli Sarı Abdurrahman Paşa	
Yavuz Köse.....	35
The Imperial Berāt and the Brand: Award for Feeding wounded Ottoman Soldiers during the first Balkan War	
Yaron Ben-Naeh	44
An 18th Century Hebrew Expenses Account and a Shopping List	
Deniz Özeren	55
Fresh Fruit Provision to Mountain Bathhouses in Yalova	
Hatice Gökçen Özkaya, Derya Düzgün Top	63
Traces of Consumption in the Expense Records of a Salon Near Şale Mansion	
Fikret Yılmaz	77
Revenues of Ahmet I's (1603-1617) Pious Foundation from Istanbul Taverns and Alcoholic Beverages	
Summary of illegible or debatable words.....	91

Note from the Guest Editors:

At the Margins of Consumption: Reframing Ottoman Historiography¹

Sümeyye Hoşgör Büke, Deniz Özeren

Ottoman historiography has paid comparatively little attention to consumption through conceptual frameworks such as consumer behaviour, the consumer revolution, or consumerism. Instead, existing literature tends to centre on two dominant themes: the process of modernisation and the lifestyles of the elite. However, the potential scope of consumption studies extends well beyond these areas. Consumption constitutes a pertinent analytical lens that can inform nearly every stage of historical inquiry. Therefore, one of the central aims of this special issue is to explore how various fields of study intersect with the theme of consumption and to consider the broader historiographical implications of these intersections.

Consumption is no longer viewed solely as an economic phenomenon. While it remains deeply intertwined with economic structures, there is a growing recognition that social, cultural, and political contexts must also be considered when analysing consumption patterns. This broader perspective enables a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the subject. In order to enrich our understanding of Ottoman consumption, contributions that engage with micro-level conceptual debates are particularly valuable. Such approaches enable a more micro analysis of consumption practices within the Ottoman context. There remains a clear need for studies that address all segments of Ottoman society, engage in global debates without being confined by them, and foreground the subjectivities and internal dynamics of Ottoman social life. As this body of scholarship expands, we will be better equipped to understand how consumption took shape in the Ottoman world and how it evolved over time.

¹ This special volume was produced as part of the FWF-funded project “Grocers of Istanbul: Tracing Food Consumption (GrocerIST)”, Grant DOI 10.55776/P35546).

In other words, consumption can be examined as a field of study that provides insights into broader, long-term social transformations, rather than serving solely as a reflection of the material culture of prominent individuals. Domains such as food, clothing, household goods, medicine, and leisure—areas where patterns of continuity and change are particularly evident—should be analysed across both elite and non-elite segments of society. On this basis, this special issue seeks to demonstrate that scholars across varied research agendas can meaningfully engage with consumption without departing from their core disciplinary or thematic commitments. Accordingly, we invited contributors to work within their established research frameworks and to reflect on how their inquiries intersect with consumption, including the kinds of primary sources that support such connections. This approach has revealed that consumption is a versatile and productive lens—one that can be articulated across a wide array of historical and social questions.

The conceptual foundation of *Keshif* lies in the close reading of micro texts, including individual documents, contextualised through short, but concise essays. These brief pieces provide insights into broader themes that can be explored in greater depth and highlight a wide array of sources that scholars can draw upon for future research. This special issue features contributions covering the period from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. Two articles—by Fikret Yılmaz and Tunahan Durmaz—focus specifically on the seventeenth century. Yılmaz demonstrates that among the revenue sources of the Ahmed I foundation were taxes collected from the production and sale of alcoholic beverages such as raki and wine. The involvement of alcohol producers in financing a major imperial foundation invites further inquiry into patterns of alcohol consumption in the Ottoman Empire and may encourage more focused studies on this topic. Also centred on the seventeenth century, Durmaz's article highlights the close relationship between medicine and consumption. By examining medical texts his work offers a valuable introduction to the intersections between food, medicine, and consumption.

Contributions from Yaron Ben-Naeh, Sümeyye Hoşgör Büke, and Eyüp Ensar Dal represent the eighteenth century. Drawing on Hebrew sources, Ben-Naeh presents the

shopping list of a Jewish family in Edirne, offering a rare glimpse into the everyday dietary needs and household provisions of the period. In contrast, Hoşgör Büke examines the concept of food hierarchy through an analysis of provisioning lists allocated to Darendeli Sarı Abdurrahman Pasha (d. 1766) following his retreat after a failed rebellion in the late eighteenth century. Also situated in the eighteenth century, Eyüp Ensar Dal's study investigates the clothing of primary school students, providing a dual perspective on consumption. His study not only documents what children wore to school but also, through detailed price data, offers insight into the broader market economy. Notably, Dal's research uncovers early evidence for the use of the fez in Ottoman society, predating its official adoption in the nineteenth century.

The nineteenth century is addressed through four valuable contributions by Yavuz Köse, Hatice Gökçen Özkaya and Derya Düzgün Top, Deniz Özeren, and Özgür Gündiken. These studies illuminate shifting consumption patterns and evolving social dynamics in the late Ottoman Empire. Köse's analysis of Nestlé's operations and its recognition for wartime provisioning demonstrates how a multinational company strategically navigated local markets and aligned itself with state priorities, revealing the entanglement of commerce and politics in a volatile period. Özkaya and Düzgün Top examine an expense record related to the furnishing of a newly constructed salon at Yıldız Palace, showing how modernisation influenced elite consumer preferences through the adoption of Western aesthetics. Özeren analyses a fruit purchase record for the Yalova mountain bathhouses, offering insights into the pricing and distribution of perishable goods and highlighting the integration of food consumption into everyday social practices. Finally, Gündiken explores an invoice documenting luxury purchases by the first secretary of the imperial chamber under Abdülhamid II. His analysis demonstrates how material culture served not only as an expression of personal taste but also as a medium for articulating political allegiance. Collectively, these articles illustrate how consumption functioned as a key site for modernisation, social distinction, and the negotiation of identity in the late Ottoman period.

We extend our sincere gratitude to the reviewers, whose incisive evaluations and constructive feedback significantly enhanced the contextual framing, the transcriptions

and textual analyses of the contributions. We also wish to express our heartfelt thanks to *Keshif's* Chief Editors—Gisela Procházka-Eisl, Ercan Akyol, and Aysu Akcan—for their unwavering support from the inception of this special issue. It is largely due to their commitment that this issue has come to fruition.

Ultimately, if this special issue prompts readers to reflect more critically on the role of consumption within their own research and within broader historiographical trajectories, then we believe it will have achieved its intended purpose.

Dressing Primary School Children in Mid-Eighteenth Century Istanbul

Eyüp Ensar Dal

Author:

PGR, Department of History, University of Manchester
eyupensar.dal@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk
ORCID: [0000-0001-5106-5128](https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5106-5128)

Keywords:

Pious Endowment, Children, Istanbul, Primary School, Clothing, 18th century

Cite this article:

Dal, Eyüp Ensar. "Dressing Primary School Children in Mid-Eighteenth Century Istanbul" *Keshif: E-Journal for Ottoman-Turkish Micro Editions* 3/2 (Special Issue 2025): 1-9. Available under <https://doi.org/10.25365/kshf-25-02-01>.

Article DOI [10.25365/kshf-25-02-01](https://doi.org/10.25365/kshf-25-02-01)

Published online July 07, 2025

© 2025 Eyüp Ensar Dal, published by *Keshif: E-Journal for Ottoman-Turkish Micro Editions*.

This is an Open Access article licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0. International License (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

Context

The pious endowment accounting document presented here, which is from the Topkapı Palace Museum Archive (TS.MA.d 4284 9/1), delineates the attire of primary school (*şıbyān mektebi*) children.¹ It is of considerable significance as it elucidates the idealized representations of clothing for children. The preliminary observations regarding the attire of children in early modern Ottoman society are predominantly interpreted as reflections of adult roles.² While scholarly interpretations have revealed the distinctive characteristics of pre-modern conceptions of childhood, the idea that children were seen as representations prepared for adulthood during the early modern period still holds considerable importance.

Eighteenth-century Ottoman poet Sünbülzade Vehbi suggests his son act appropriately by dressing like an adult male while avoiding clothing that surpasses that of his peers. Leyla Kayhan Elbirlik's remarks on clothing within Vehbi's understanding of the ideal child show the idea that clothing also embodies Islamic morality.³ Evaluating the association between childhood and adulthood as a process of moral preparation from the former to the latter indicates that children's attire is partially in accordance with contemporary clothing consumption trends observed in Ottoman society. Therefore, this document identifies clothing appropriate for primary school children, enhancing our understanding of eighteenth-century childhood and advancing textile studies. Based on the details provided in this document, I assert that the initial reflection of a specific, albeit informal, characterization is observed regarding children's school uniforms through particular items, despite their general similarity to adult clothing.

¹ BOA, TS.MA.d 4284 9/1.

² Marianna Yerasimos, "16.-19. Yüzyılda Batı Kaynaklı Gravürlerde Osmanlı Çocuk Figürleri," in *Toplumsal Tarihte Çocuk: Sempozyum, 23-24 Nisan 1993*, ed. Bekir Onur (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994), 67-75.

³ Leyla Kayhan Elbirlik, "The Emotional Bond between Early Modern Ottoman Children and Parents: A Case Study of Sünbülzade Vehbi's 'Ideal' Child (1700-1800)," in *Children and Childhood in the Ottoman Empire From the 15th to the 20th Century*, ed. Gülay Yılmaz and Fruma Zachs (Edinburgh University Press, 2021), 142-43.

The primary school referenced in this document was situated in Salıpazarı and was under the auspices of the Nuruosmaniye pious foundations (*evkâf*). The document was dated to the year 1173 AH (between 25 August 1759 and 12 August 1760 CE), which was approximately five years subsequent to the inauguration of Nuruosmaniye complex.⁴ It meticulously records the expenditures for clothing for the children, alongside the remuneration allotted for the school's instructors and the associated costs. This document stands out for two notable reasons concerning Ottoman consumption studies: first, it showcases student clothing in eighteenth century Istanbul; second, the pricing information it provides contributes to the limited sources available related to prices in eighteenth-century consumption studies. While the financial details pertaining to the foundation's expenses are undeniably significant, my primary objective in presenting this document lies in highlighting the relevance of the clothing inventory for children contextualized within the broader historical narrative of consumption patterns.

In this document, the clothing items designated for school-aged children align with the foundational attire habits of Ottoman men, women, and children. The seven garments listed form a complete and conventional set of outerwear, featuring *kapama* (coat), *entârî* (loose robe), *çintiyân* (shintiyan), *kuşak* (sash), *mest* (under-shoes), and *pâpûc* (shoes), topped off with *fes-i kırmızî* (red fez) as headwear. Although the items provided by the endowment may not inherently embody the preferences of the children or their caretakers, the prevailing consumption habits in apparel exerted a significant influence on the nature of the donations received. This connection between philanthropy and social ideals was evident in broader dynamics, particularly in the early modern clothing used to express belonging and representation. In this context, the lack of explicit reference to gender within this document is noteworthy, given that Ottoman primary schools were characterized as institutions that furnished education for both

⁴ The construction of Nuruosmaniye, as a mosque complex, commenced during the reign of Mahmud I and was opened in 1755 during the rule of Sultan Osman III: Fatih Köse, "Arşiv Belgelerine Göre Nuruosmaniye Camii İnşası-Tamirleri ve Onarımları," Vakıf Restorasyon Yıllığı, no. 5 (2012): 26–41.

genders.⁵ This absence further underscores how perceived similarities between early modern Ottoman women's and men's clothes shaped the designated norms for children, regardless of their quality or manner of wear.⁶ *Entārī* forms the essential attire, not specific to children, and is complemented by accessories such as *kuşak*, *çintiyān*, and footwear as *mest* with *pāpūc*. In addition, the allocated amount for the *na'īce*, the iron heel for shoes, likely reflects the total expenses, including the associated processing costs. Therefore, the items of fundamental early modern Ottoman attire were incorporated in this list without the need for gender identification.

The variety in the sizes provided shows that not all children attending the *şıbyān mektebi* in Salıpazarı were of identical age. The list highlights three distinct measurements exclusively for *çintiyān*, a type of trousers: five pieces of *şajir* (small), twenty pieces of *vasatçe* (medium), and twenty-two pieces of *vasat-ı kebīr* (medium large). This indicates that students of different ages received instruction at this primary school, resembling the practices observed in early modern Ottoman primary schools, where a single teacher facilitated learning for all students in one classroom.⁷ This practice arose because primary education typically occurred within schools in mosque complexes, predominantly comprising single-room masonry structures.⁸ Therefore, the list in this document, which enumerates forty-seven pieces of each category of clothing, indicates that there were at least forty-seven students enrolled at this institution. Within this framework, the clothing types provided by the endowment to these students of varying ages were not distinguished.

Nevertheless, the two specific clothing items, *fes* and *kapama*, stand for the initial characterization of children's uniforms in primary schools, irrespective of gender and

⁵ Osman Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, vol. 1–2 (İstanbul: Eser Matbaası, 1977), 82; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, vol. 3 (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1993), 201–202.

⁶ Betül İpşirli Arğit, “Osmanlı İstanbul’unda Giyim Kuşam,” in *Antik Çağ’dan XXI. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz, vol. 4 (İstanbul: İBB Kültür AŞ, 2015), 240.

⁷ Elma Korić, “Childhood and Education in Ottoman Bosnia during the Early Modern Period (Mid Fifteenth to Late Eighteenth Century),” in *Children and Childhood in the Ottoman Empire From the 15th to the 20th Century*, ed. Gülay Yılmaz and Fruma Zachs (Edinburgh University Press, 2021), 317.

⁸ Zeynep Ahunbay, “Mektep: Mimari,” in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2004), 7.

age. The distinguishing characteristics of early modern Ottoman dress were often depicted through accessories. Therefore, as an upper garment, *kapama* was predominantly associated with primary schools in Ottoman society. As noted by Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *kapama* was worn as an outer costume by both Janissaries and school children. He indicates that *kapama* makers (*kapamacı*) were one of the merchant groups in Istanbul. Furthermore, the term often referred to educational institutions, where primary school trips and clothing aids for school children were usually defined as *kapama*.⁹ Thus, it can be articulated as an item commonly worn by school children.

The concluding key point presented in this document is that *fes-i kırmızı* held considerable importance for school children during the latter half of the eighteenth century. This detail serves as a substantial record of the fez's usage in Ottoman Istanbul prior to its official adoption in the nineteenth century by the Ottomans. Youssef Ben Ismail's research on the use of the fez in early modern Ottoman society prior to Mahmud II highlights its significant presence in eighteenth-century Istanbul, as they were even granted their own guild. He notes that although the fez was seen as an accessory primarily associated with youth in Istanbul, it became popular among various tradesmen and some immigrants, symbolizing a sense of belonging throughout the eighteenth century.¹⁰ Accordingly, this document significantly contributes to the understanding of the consumption culture surrounding clothes produced in Istanbul, particularly revealing the specific attire of primary schools with the distinctive use of *kapama* and *fes-i kırmızı*. This is, in fact, further evidenced by the documentation that these two were recorded as regular donations for children attending other primary schools in Istanbul at the time.¹¹ This demonstrates their recognition as symbols of belonging for primary school children and the fact that *fes* and *kapama* makers in eighteenth-century Istanbul

⁹ Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1993), 164.

¹⁰ Youssef Ben Ismail, "A History of the Ottoman Fez before Mahmud II (ca. 1600–1800)," *Muqarnas Online* 38, no. 1 (2021): 164–71.

¹¹ The foundational charter (dated 1755) of Shaykh al-Islam Esat Efendi specified that annually, apart from *mîntan* (shirt), *kuşak*, *mest*, and *pâpûc*, children in the *şıbyân* schools should receive a *kapama* and a *fes*, see Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, 1–2:88.

began to hold a notable role in the clothing expenditures of the pious endowments for primary school students.

Transcription

*Berāy-ı melbūsāt-ı şıbyān mekteb der şalı bāzārı
sene 1173*

<i>kapama</i> 47 ‘aded 79.5 <i>zīrā</i> ‘ <i>fī</i> 120
<i>entārī</i> 47 ‘aded 68 <i>zīrā</i> ‘ <i>fī</i> 160
<i>çintiyān-ı vasaṭ-ı kebīr</i> 22 ‘aded <i>fī</i> 150
<i>çintiyān-ı vasaṭçe</i> 20 ‘aded <i>fī</i> 120
<i>çintiyān-ı şağīr</i> 5 ‘aded <i>fī</i> 120
<i>kuşak</i> 47 ‘aded <i>fī</i> 39
<i>mest ma’a pāpūc</i> 47 ‘aded <i>fī</i> 90
<i>fes-i kırmızı</i> 47 ‘aded <i>fī</i> 90

<i>hā^vce-i mekteb</i>	1800
<i>efendiye</i>	
<i>halife-i mekteb</i>	1200
<i>na lçe bahā</i>	1560

berāy-ı şurre

<i>mütevellī</i>	7200
<i>kātib-i vakf</i>	3600
<i>rūznāmçe</i>	2400
<i>cābī-i vakf</i>	1200

Translation

For the garments of the primary school in Salıpazarı
year 1173 [AH (1759-60 CE)]

coat 47 pieces 79 cubits price 120
loose robe 47 pieces 68 cubits price 160
shintiyan medium large 22 pieces price 50
shintiyan medium 20 pieces price 120
shintiyan small 5 pieces price 120
sash 47 pieces price 39
under-shoes with shoes 47 pieces price 90
red fez 47 pieces price 90

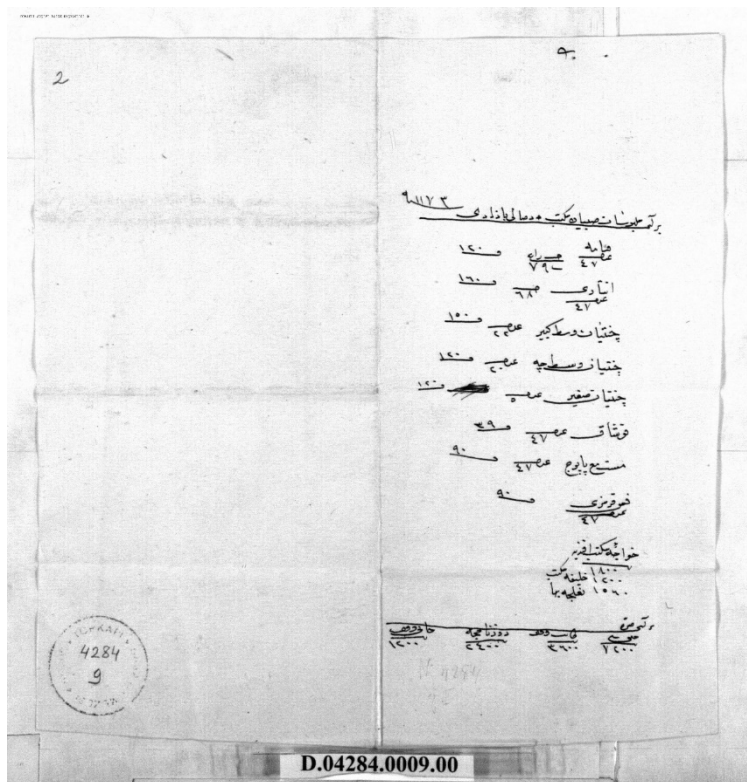
to the head teacher (<i>effendi</i>) of the school	1800
--	------

assistant to the teacher	1200
costs of iron heels (for boot)	1560

for the *şurre*¹² funds

the waqf trustee	7200
foundation scribe	3600
daily ledger	2400
revenue collector of the waqf	1200

Facsimile



¹² The word *şurre* refers to the money, gold and other items that are usually sent every year before the Hajj period to be distributed to the people of Mecca and Medina. TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi Online, s.v. “Surre,” <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/surre>.

Bibliography

Primary Source

BOA, TS.MA.d 4284 9/1.

Secondary Sources

Ahunbay, Zeynep. "Mektep: Mimari." In *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 29:7–9. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2004.

Ben Ismail, Youssef. "A History of the Ottoman Fez before Mahmud II (ca. 1600–1800)." *Muqarnas Online* 38, no. 1 (2021): 155–83.

Elbirlik, Leyla Kayhan. "The Emotional Bond between Early Modern Ottoman Children and Parents: A Case Study of Sünbülzade Vehbi's 'Ideal' Child (1700–1800)." In *Children and Childhood in the Ottoman Empire From the 15th to the 20th Century*, edited by Gülay Yılmaz and Fruma Zachs, 129–50. Edinburgh University Press, 2021.

Ergin, Osman. *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*. Vol. 1–2. İstanbul: Eser Matbaası, 1977.

İpşirli Argıt, Betül. "Osmanlı İstanbul'unda Giyim Kuşam." In *Antik Çağ'dan XXI. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*, edited by Coşkun Yılmaz, 4:230–63. İstanbul: İBB Kültür AŞ, 2015.

Yerasimos, Marianna "16.-19. Yüzyılda Batı Kaynaklı Gravürlerde Osmanlı Çocuk Figürleri," in *Toplumsal Tarihte Çocuk: Sempozyum, 23-24 Nisan 1993*, ed. Bekir Onur (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994), 67–75.

Korić, Elma. "Childhood and Education in Ottoman Bosnia during the Early Modern Period (Mid-Fifteenth to Late Eighteenth Century)." In *Children and Childhood in the Ottoman Empire From the 15th to the 20th Century*, edited by Gülay Yılmaz and Fruma Zachs, 315–35. Edinburgh University Press, 2021.

Köse, Fatih. "Arşiv Belgelerine Göre Nuruosmaniye Camii İnşâsı-Tamirleri ve Onarımları." *Vakıf Restorasyon Yıllığı*, no. 5 (2012): 26–41.

Pakalın, Mehmet Zeki. *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*. Vol. 3. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1993.

———. *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*. Vol. 2. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1993.

Insatiable Hunger: A Court Physician's Account of Dog-Hunger in the Seventeenth Century

Tunahan Durmaz

Author:

Ph.D. Candidate, European University Institute, Florence
Fellow, Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (ANAMED), Koç University, Istanbul
Tunahan.Durmaz@eui.eu
ORCID: [0000-0002-0363-4506](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0363-4506)

Keywords:

Ottoman medicine, Sakızlı İsa Efendi, History of eating disorders, Dog-hunger, 17th Century

Cite this article:

Durmaz, Tunahan. "Insatiable Hunger: A Court Physician's Account of Dog-Hunger in the Seventeenth Century"
Keshif: E-Journal for Ottoman-Turkish Micro Editions 3/2 (Special Issue 2025): 10-20.
Available under <https://doi.org/10.25365/kshf-25-02-02>.

Article DOI [10.25365/kshf-25-02-02](https://doi.org/10.25365/kshf-25-02-02)

Published online July 07, 2025

© 2025 Tunahan Durmaz, published by *Keshif: E-Journal for Ottoman-Turkish Micro Editions*.

This is an Open Access article licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0. International License (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

Context¹

The account of dog-hunger² (*cū 'u'l-kelb*) presented here is found in *Devā'ü'l-Emrāz*.³ *Devā'* was compiled in the 1640s by Sakızlı İsa Efendi, the chief physician (*hekimbaşı*) at the court of Sultan Ibrahim.⁴ Encyclopedic in nature, the work elaborates on approximately four hundred illnesses and disease states from pathological and therapeutic perspectives. Despite being largely neglected in the historiography of Ottoman medicine, *Devā'* presents a wealth of information that provokes numerous thoughts and questions pertaining to meanings, categories, and regimes of disease in early modern Istanbul. Sakızlı İsa Efendi's interest in disease nomenclature, symptomatology, and etiology not only lends us a perspective into a physician's mindset but also allows us to consider disease and illness in its social and cultural contexts.

Dog-hunger (*cū 'u'l-kelb*) is one of the ailments detailed in the source.⁵ It is described as an eating disorder characterized by an insatiable hunger, eventually leading to a vicious cycle of food-binging and discharge of undigested food. Dog-hunger was first mentioned by Galen of Pergamon and was thus known to generations of physicians over the centuries.⁶ It also appeared in the Ottoman medical writings from an early

¹ One chapter of my forthcoming dissertation on the perceptions of illness in late-seventeenth-century Ottoman Istanbul examines in detail the medicalization of hunger and appetite in the contemporary Ottoman medical compendia, with a particular focus on İsa Efendi's *Devā'ü'l-Emrāz*. —I would like to thank Sümeyye Hoşgör-Büke and Deniz Özeren for inviting me to contribute to the volume, and Nükhet Varlık and Deren Ertaş for their feedback. My thanks are also due to the *Keshif* editors and the anonymous reviewer for their careful reading of the transcription and their corrections.

² The term dog-hunger is the most accurate translation for *cū 'u'l-kelb* on two grounds: (1) It provides a word-for-word translation. (2) Dog-hunger was a historically-available term in the English language whose first use draws back to the early 1600s. See, "Dog-Hunger," in *Oxford English Dictionary*, December 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/9332899614>.

³ The copy used here is Kütahya Zeytinoğlu Halk Kütüphanesi, 401. The subject entry on *cū 'u'l-kelb* is in folios 131a, 131b, 132a.

⁴ For an overview of *Devā'ü'l-Emrāz*, see Ahmet Akdağ, "Sakızlı İsa Efendi'nin Deva-i Emraz İsimli Eseri," in *Sakızlı İsa Efendi ve Nizamü'l Edviye'si Üzerine İncelemeler*, ed. Sibel Murad and Mücahit Kaçar (İstanbul: Dün Bugün Yarın Yayınları, 2021).

⁵ The author discusses three other eating disorders: anorexia, dirt-eating, and ox-hunger (bulimia).

⁶ H. U. Ziolko, "Bulimia: A Historical Outline," *The International Journal of Eating Disorders* 20, no. 4 (December 1996): 350, [https://doi.org/10.1002/\(SICI\)1098-108X\(199612\)20:4<345::AID-EAT2>3.0.CO;2-N](https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1098-108X(199612)20:4<345::AID-EAT2>3.0.CO;2-N).

period.⁷ Utilizing systematic methods of examination, İsa Efendi not only addresses dog-hunger and similar conditions, such as ox-hunger (i.e., *cū 'u'l-baḳar*; bulimia), but also medicalizes the broader phenomenon of appetite.

The entry pertains to consumption in two points: (1) From a broad perspective that also considers social and cultural practices of eating, it may offer insights into how such practices and their medicalization were shaped within larger trends of consumption. (2) The medicinal ingredients and compounds listed in the entry may help shed light on the marketplace and uses of them when read along with other types of sources (e.g. probate inventories) used by historians of consumption.

Transcription

Yüz elli beşinci bâb cū 'u'l-kelb beyânındadır

İtler iştihâsı dirler • ve fâriside gürisne-ü seg ve ârzü-yı seg daḥı dirler • ve efrenciler envâ '-i fame ḳanina⁸ dirler • ve rûmlar ve yûnâniler kino-limos dirler • ṭa 'âma doymaz dirler • ve 'arabda cū 'u'l-kelb dirler • cū 'u'l-kelb ile cū 'u'l-baḳar 'illetini ba 'zılar ikisin daḥı [131b] bir nev '-i illettir dimişlerdür • ve ba 'zı gürûh cū 'u'l-baḳar cū 'u'l-kelbden şoñradur dimişler ya 'nî cū 'u'l-kelb muḳaddem 'ârız olubdur cū 'u'l-baḳar şoñradan olur dimişler şaḥḥ ve cū 'u'l-kelb 'illeti ğalebe-i sevdâdan olur • ve sevdâ ṭalaktan mi 'deye varub ve fem-i mi 'de 'i lez 'ider • veyâḥûd sū 'u'l-mizâc-ı bârid veya sū 'u'l-mizâc-ı ḥâr veyâ sū 'u'l-mizâc ki cümle endâm ile ola • bunlar bu 'illete sebebdür • zîrâ yalnız sū 'u'l-mizâc fem-i mi 'dede olsa • ṭa 'âm iştihâsı olmazdı • bunda ḥod iştihâ çok olur dimişler • ve ifrâṭla iştihâ olmak sū 'u'l-mizâc sebebi ile cümle endâmlara irişüb beden mesâmların açar • ve ṭa 'âm daḥı cümle endâmlara irişdüğü gibi 'ale'l-fevr taḥlîl ḳabûl idüp ve beden mesâmından ṭaşra çıkduğı gibi bedel-i taḥlîl tekrâr ṭa 'âm • ârzü idüp ve ṭalebi ḳavî olup şabra ṭâḳat kalmaz • meger nâçar ola • ve ṭa 'âm bulmaya • ve bu 'illet gâhî nezleden olur ki dimâğdan fem-i mi 'deye nâzil-i mādde sebab olur • ve dimâğdan nâzil olan bârid madde gerekdür ki fem-i mi 'de 'i daḥı tebrîd idüp ve cā 'izdür ki mi 'dede olan her ne ise ekşi olup lez 'ide • ve şehves⁹-i kelbî tevellüd ide • ve gâhî mi 'dede ve em 'âda olan uzun ḳurtlar mütevellid olmuş ola • ve ol

⁷ For instance, a fifteenth-century medical manual in Turkish also mentions *cū 'u'l-kelb*. See İbn-i Şerif, *Yâdigâr : On Beşinci Yüzyıl Türkçe Tıp Kitabı*, ed. Murat D. Çekin, trans. Orhan Sakin, Yahya Okutan, and Mecit Yıldız (Istanbul: Merkezefendi Geleneksel Tıp Derneği : Zeytinburnu Belediyesi, 2017), 53, 153.

⁸ *De fame canina*.

⁹ Şehvet.

ğidâlar ki ol maħalle vâşıl ola cezb idüb kendüye ğidâ idinüb âħir lâzım olmayanı biraz yolından göndere • mi‘de ve mi‘â ħālī kala • ve tekrār ğidāya taleb ola • bunuñ ‘alāmeti sevdā fem-i mi‘dede ise • her nesne ki tenāvül ider hāzmsız taşra çıkar • ve endāmlar ħişşesin alamaz • ve beden lâğm olmaħ lâzım gelür • ve sevdānuñ ħumūziyeti fem-i mi‘de‘i yakmağa başlar • ve kaçan ki ta‘ām tenāvül ide • fem-i mi‘de te‘affunı zā‘il ola • ve bārid sū‘u‘l-mizācdan daħı bu ħāller ‘aynī ile böyle vāķi‘ olur • ve eger sū‘u‘l-mizāc cümle endāmlar müşāreketi ile • olursa nişānı budur ki • ğidā tez taħlil olup ‘atş ğalebe ider • ve beden naşībini alamaz • ve nezle ‘alāmeti daħı ‘aynī ile böyledür • ammā ħurt tevellüd itmiş ise em‘āda ve mi‘dede ħarāret ve burun gicimek aña dāldur • bunlara ‘ilāc eger mi‘dede sevdā ise • bāsiliķdan¹⁰ veya üseylemden¹¹ faşd lâzımdur • ba‘dehū maṭbūħ eftimün ile istifrāğ gerekdür • ve ṭalak üstine ħurı ħacāmat şişesi koyub çizmemek gerekdür • ve mi‘deye ıtrıfılāt ile yā cüvāriş¹²-i cevzi ile ħuvvet vireler • ve cevz-i bevvalar • ve rüfadān yumurda şarusı ve semüz ħuzı ve tavuħ kebāpları • ve kebāb altına yağlu tirīdler idüp vireler • ve cerblü şorbalar • ve yağlu kemükler • ve süd ile tāze ħuzı ve oğlak ṭabħ itmek ve ta‘āmlarına ṭoraħ otı ve noħūd ve ħavlencān ve dārçini katarlar • ve ‘ūd-ı cüvārişleri vireler • ve rengin şerāblar ve mey-i puḥteler ki tağ üzüminden ola kifāyet ider • ve eger mi‘deye bārid nezle irmiş ise • bürüdet zāħir olduğı gibi evvelā ħay’ itdürüp ba‘dehū ayāric-i fayķarā¹³ ile mi‘de‘i pāk [132a] idüp ve ba‘dehū ma‘cün-ı kemmünī ve sinciriyyā¹⁴ ve tiryāk-ı keb[ir]ler ve devā‘ü‘l-misk-ü meşer¹⁵ nāfi dūr • ve ta‘āmlarına ıssı otlar koyalar • ve şerāblardan daħı ħār ve mu‘tedil olanlardan virüp bārid buħarı teskin ve mi‘de‘i teşhīn

¹⁰ The vein located below the arm; also known as “the heart vein.” See “el-bāseliķ” in Ekrem Demir, “Hezārfen Hüseyin B. Ca’fer İstānköy’nin ‘Lisānū‘l-Etibbā’ Adlı Tıp Lügatı Üzerinde Dil İncelemesi (İnceleme-Metin-Sözlük)” (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Istanbul University, 2011), 122. This is *vena basilica* in Latin. See, Gürsel Ortuğ, “İbn Sina’nın Kan Alınacak Damarlar Risalesi Üzerine Bir Bakış,” in *Uluslararası İbni Sînâ Sempozyumu Bildirileri 17-20 Ağustos 1983* (Uluslararası İbni Sînâ Sempozyumu, Ankara: Milli Kütüphane Yayınları, 1984), 260.

¹¹ The vein located between the ring and little fingers on the back of the hand. See “el-üslim” in Demir, “Hezārfen Hüseyin B. Ca’fer İstānköy’nin ‘Lisānū‘l-Etibbā’ Adlı Tıp Lügatı Üzerinde Dil İncelemesi (İnceleme-Metin-Sözlük),” 100. This is *vena salvatella* in Latin. See, Ortuğ, “İbn Sina’nın Kan Alınacak Damarlar Risalesi Üzerine Bir Bakış,” 263.

¹² Cüvāriş: generic name of mixtures specifically intended to facilitate digestion. For cüvāriş see “cevāriş” in Terzioğlu, *Helvahane Defteri ve Topkapı Sarayında Eczacılık*, 76.

¹³ Ayāric-i fayķarā: a laxative or non-laxative compound. See “eyāric-i faykara” in Terzioğlu, 76.

¹⁴ This is most likely the herb known as *sencer*, which İsa described as hot-dry in his pharmacopeia. Sakızlı İsa Efendi, *Nizamül Edviye*, ed. Sibel Murad and Mükerrrem Bedizel Aydın (Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi (TÜBA), 2019), 451. The humoral characteristics of *sencer* also aligns with the therapy suggested here.

¹⁵ The text writes مشر. However, it is possible that the author meant to write *mürr*, as *devā‘ü‘l-misk-ü mürr* (the bitter musk cure) was an available recipe. The other musk-based treatment was *devā‘ü‘l-misk-ü helv* (the sweet musk cure). See Arslan Terzioğlu, ed., *Helvahane Defteri ve Topkapı Sarayında Eczacılık = Eine Bisher Unbekannte Handschrift Über Die Herstellung Der Arzneien Im Topkapı-Schloss in Istanbul Und Ihre Bedeutung Für Die Geschichte Der Pharmazie*, Tıpkı Basımlar Dizisi 7 (İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 1992), 76.

ideler • ve bu bâbda ma'cûn -ı kendir daḥı kay'[a] nâfi'dür **ma'cûn -ı kendir** ḥîr-i bevṵa ve cevz-i bevṵa • fûlfûl ve dâr-ı fûlfûl her birinden beş dirhem ḥavlencân ve zencebîl her birinden yedi dirhem kendir otuz dirhem ola • 'asel ile ma'cûn idüp • bunuñ miḳdâr-ı isti'mâli iki dirhemdür • ve eger sũ'u'l-mizâc-ı ḥâr olup mi'deye ve cümle endâmlara te'sîr itmiş ola • ve cümle endâm müşâreketi ile ola cümle endâma mersîn yağı tîlâ itmek ve bârid şuda iclâs itdürmek ve riyâzet ve ḥareketden men' itmek gerekdür • ve ekşi turunç ve ribâs ve lîmûn şularını ve şerâblarını vireler • ve ḡidâsın buzaḡu eti vireler • ve eger mi'dede ḡurt tevellüd itmiş ise • deryâda biten bir cins otluk ki aña soḡlucan otı dirler • sirke ile ezüp ve içirüp ol ḡurtlar ishâl ile çıkar • ve şâhtere ve hindibâ şerâbı her biri acı olduḡuyçün ol ḡurtları çıkarub illet zâ'il olur • ve daḥı ishâle müte'alliḡ edviye ile • müleyyin şerbet virüb mi'de ve em'âyı • daḥı pāk • ideler •

Translation¹⁶

One-hundred-fifty-fifth section is on dog-hunger.

[They] call it the appetite of dogs [in Turkish]. In Persia, they call it *gürisne-i seg* and *arzũ-yı seg*. Europeans call it the sort of *fame kanina*. And Rûms and Greeks call it *kino-limos*. They call it [an] insatiable hunger. [In the land of] Arabs, they call it *cũ'u'l-kelb*. Some said that [this] dog-hunger and ox-hunger (*cũ'u'l-baḡar*) are of the same sort. And some said ox-hunger follows dog-hunger, meaning dog-hunger comes first, and later ox-hunger appears. The malady of dog-hunger is due to an excess of black bile. From the spleen black bile reaches the stomach and therein irritates the mouth of the stomach. Differently, it is due to imbalance of cold temperament (*sũ'u'l-mizâc-ı bârid*), of hot temperament (*sũ'u'l-mizâc-ı ḥâr*), or of the whole bodily temperament. These are the causes of this malady. Had the imbalance transpired only in the mouth of the stomach, insatiability would not have occurred. Nevertheless, there is [an unnecessary] eating appetite in this instance. Extreme appetite, stemming from the imbalanced temperament, spreads to the whole body and opens the pores. When the food also reaches the whole body, it becomes hastily digested and purged from the body via pores. [Thus], the food is sought once again, and the demand becomes so intense that the person would

¹⁶ Translation of *materia medica* names is based on the modern use of such terms. Some of the terms denoting unidentified plants, anatomical references, and units of measure are left in Turkish to avoid any misinterpretation.

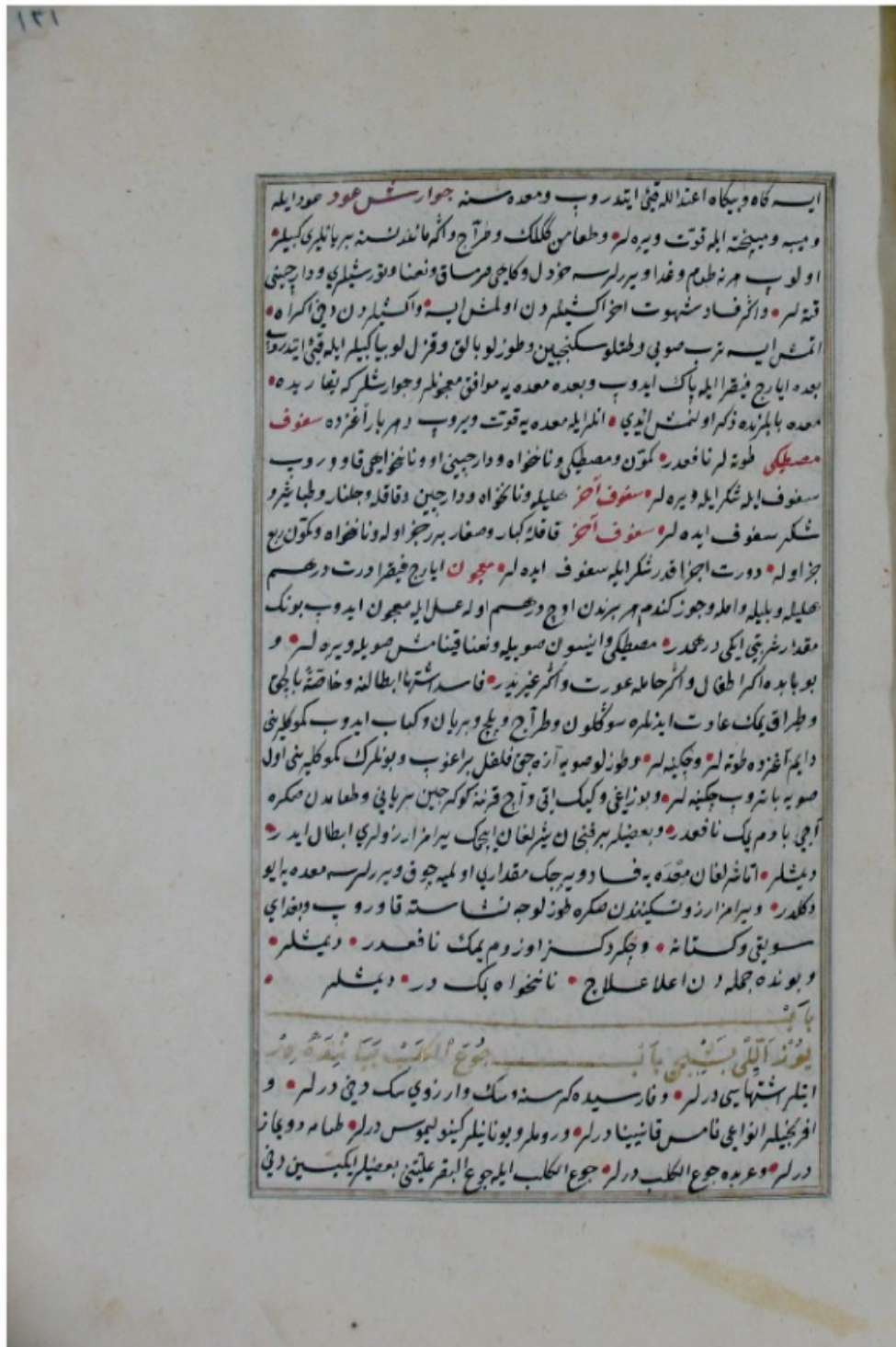
languish struggling to be patient. It is [an effort] in vain. [And] there is no food. This malady can also be caused by discharge [of a bodily substance], that is, because a substance descends from the brain to the mouth of the stomach. This cold-tempered substance, descended from the brain, renders therein cold, too. It is possible that it acidifies and irritates the entire stomach. Consequently, dog-passion occurs, and sometimes long worms are born in the stomach and the bowels. [These worms] consume all the food and send away the unwanted remnants. Stomach and bowels remain emptied. Ultimately, the demand for food upsurges once again. The **symptoms** of it: If the black bile is in the stomach, everything consumed would exit [the body] undigested. The bodily organs cannot take their share. The body needs to purge. The acidity of the black bile burns the mouth of the stomach. The food is consumed thereafter, and decomposition [in] the mouth of the stomach stops. The same set of occurrences takes place also in the imbalance of cold temperament. If it is due to the imbalance of the whole bodily temperament, the sign is that the food dissolves hastily and then occurs fever. Overall, the body cannot take its share [of the food.] The same symptom appears also in discharge. Yet, if worms began emerging, fever in stomach and bowels as well as running nose attest to it. The **cure** for this: if the black bile is in the stomach, bloodletting from either the basilic vein or vena salvatella is needed. Then, puking with decocted epithymum is needed. Also needed is to apply dry cups on the spleen. Following that, they shall invigorate the stomach with trefoils and the nuts-based digestive compound. And nutmegs. They should serve soft-boiled egg yolk, well-fed lamb and chicken kebab whose underneath is put fatty bread. Fat-rich soups. Fatty bones. And fresh lamb cooked with milk. They should also add dill, chickpeas, galangal, and cinnamon in their food. They shall give the oud-based digestive compound. Colorful beverages and boiled drinks, made with mountain grapes, are adequate. If the discharge is already descended to the stomach, as soon as the coldness appears, they shall make [the person] puke, and they purify the stomach with laxative compounds. Subsequently, paste of cummin and *sinciriyyā*¹⁷ and the great theriac and the bitter musk cure are beneficial. They shall add

¹⁷ See the transcription above for explanation.

sour weeds in their food. They shall give hot and mild ones from their beverages so that the cold organs find soothing and the stomach gets heated. In this respect, the paste of hemp is also beneficial to [help] purge. **The paste of hemp** small cardamom¹⁸ and nutmeg. Black pepper and *piper longum*: five *dirhems* from each. Galangal and ginger: seven *dirhems* from each. Hemp shall be thirty *dirhems*. Mix with honey to make a paste. The amount of consumption of this is two *dirhems*. If there is an imbalance of hot temperament, which has affected the stomach and all organs, it is necessary to apply myrtle oil to the whole body. Also having person sit in cold water, and prohibiting from ascetism and movement. And give sour orange, rhubarb, and lemon juices and their sherbets. And give veal meat as food. If worms have developed in the stomach, there is this type of weed that grows in the sea, which they call soğlucan otu. Crash it with vinegar and administer it, the worms will exit through diarrhea. Since the sherbet of fumeroor and chicory is bitter, it expes the worms and the malady is removed. Moreover, give mild sherbet with cures for diarrhea so that they purify the stomach and the bowels.

¹⁸ I have opted for a direct translation of “*küçük kakule*,” that is used to describe *ḥīr-i bevvā* in Sakızlı İsa Efendi’s pharmacopoeia titled *Nizāmü’l-Edviyye*. *Nizamül Edviye*, 353.

Facsimile



بروز عتد در پیشگاه وجود الملک علی علیه السلام و سواد اول و سواد لاحق در معده به واسطه
در معده و لایع ایدر و یا خود سواد المزاج بارد و یا سواد المزاج حار و یا سواد المزاج که بمثل اندام
ایم اول و بولمر بولع سبب در زیر بالکم سواد المزاج فم معده ده اول و طعم ششپای
اولمز دی بونه خود ششپای خود اولور دیشمر و انخر طعم ششپای سواد المزاج سببی
ایلم جمله انخر ایدر یسوب بدن مایلم بدن آچر و طعم دینی جمله انخر ایدر و کی یکجای علی خود
تحلیل قبول ایدر و بدن مایلم طعم حرقه و جد و بی یکجای بدل تحلیل لکار طعم
ارزو ایدر و بولطبی قوی اولوب صبره طاقت قالمار مکر نچار اولور و طعم بولمیه
و بولعت کایم نزلون اولور که داغدن فم معده به نازل ماده سبب اولور و داغدن
نازل اولان بارد ماده که کمر که فم معده دینی بتر ایدر و جانیز در که معده ده اولان
هر نه ایسه اکشی اولوب لایع ایدر و ششپوت یکجای نوله ایدر و کایم معده ده و احم
اولان اوزون نور تکر متوله ایش اولور و اول غذا که اول محل و اصل اولر جد
ایدوب کند و به غذا ایدر و بولع لازم اولطبی هزار بولدن کومدره معده و حایلی
قاله و نکر غذا به طالب اولور بونک **طعم است** سواد فم معده ده ایسه
هر نه که تناول ایدر حرقه طعم حرقه و اندام لرحقه سن آتمز و بدن لایع اولوق
لازم کور و سواد نک محتوی فم معده به نفع یا شمر و بقی که طعم تناول ایدر فم معده
تفتینی زایل اولور و بار و سواد المزاج بدن بولمر حایلی ایلم بولیم و واقع اولور و اکثر سواد
المزاج جمله انخر ایدر که ایلم اولور نه نشانی بودور که غذا نیز تحلیل اولوب غشش
غلبه ایدر و بدن نصبی آتمز و نزل علایق دینی عین ایلم بولیم در انقورت نوله انشی
ایسه امعده و معده ده حارات و بورون کیمک اکثر دالدر بولمر **طعم است**
اکثر معده ده سواد ایسه با سلیقدن و یا وسیلن فصد لازمدر بعد مطبوع
افشون ایلم استغراق کمر که و طلق اوسته قوری حیات ششپای قویوب مجرب نک
کمر که و معده به اطریشلات ایلم یا جوارش مجوزی ایلر قوت ویر لمر و جوار ایلر
و رودان یرده ساروسی و سوز قوزی و نواق کب بلری و کباب الشه باغلو تریدر
ایدوب ویر لمر و جریلو شور بالمر و یا غلو کک لمر و سدا ایلم تازه قوزی و اوغلق فیج
انکات و طماطرنه طوق اونی و خود و خلیجان و داچینی قیلر و عود جوارش لری ویر لمر
و نکلین شربلر و بختلر که طایع اوزوند اولر کفایت ایدر و اکثر معده به یار دز لایر مش
ایسه برودت ظاهر اولد و بی کبی اول قبی ایدر و بولع بعد ایلم فیض ایلم معده پاک

Bibliography

- Akdağ, Ahmet. "Sakızlı İsa Efendi'nin Deva-i Emraz İsimli Eseri." In *Sakızlı İsa Efendi ve Nizamü'l Edviye'si Üzerine İncelemeler*, edited by Sibel Murad and Mücahit Kaçar. İstanbul: Dün Bugün Yarın Yayınları, 2021.
- Demir, Ekrem. "Hezârfen Hüseyin B. Ca'fer İstânköyî'nin 'Lisânü'l-Etibbâ' Adlı Tıp Lügatı Üzerinde Dil İncelemesi (İncleme-Metin-Sözlük)." Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Istanbul University, 2011.
- "Dog-Hunger." In *Oxford English Dictionary*, December 2024.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/9332899614>.
- İbn-i Şerif. *Yâdigâr : On Beşinci Yüzyıl Türkçe Tıp Kitabı*. Edited by Murat D. Çekin. Translated by Orhan Sakin, Yahya Okutan, and Mecit Yıldız. İstanbul: Merkezefendi Geleneksel Tıp Derneği : Zeytinburnu Belediyesi, 2017.
- Ortuğ, Gürsel. "İbn Sina'nın Kan Alınacak Damarlar Risalesi Üzerine Bir Bakış." In *Uluslararası İbni Sînâ Sempozyumu Bildirileri 17-20 Ağustos 1983*. Ankara: Milli Kütüphane Yayınları, 1984.
- Sakızlı İsa Efendi. *Nizamül Edviye*. Edited by Sibel Murad and Mükerrerrem Bedizel Aydın. Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi (TÜBA), 2019.
- Terzioğlu, Arslan, ed. *Helvahane Defteri ve Topkapı Sarayında Eczacılık =: Eine Bisher Unbekannte Handschrift Über Die Herstellung Der Arzneien Im Topkapı-Schloss in Istanbul Und Ihre Bedeutung Für Die Geschichte Der Pharmazie*. Tıpkı Basımlar Dizisi 7. İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 1992.
- Ziolko, H. U. "Bulimia: A Historical Outline." *The International Journal of Eating Disorders* 20, no. 4 (December 1996): 345–58. [https://doi.org/10.1002/\(SICI\)1098-108X\(199612\)20:4<345::AID-EAT2>3.0.CO;2-N](https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1098-108X(199612)20:4<345::AID-EAT2>3.0.CO;2-N).

An Ottoman Bureaucrat's Luxury Purchases: The 1898 Invoice of Hasan Tahsin Pasha

Özgür Gündiken

Author:

M. A., Boğaziçi University
ozgurgundiken@gmail.com
ORCID: [0000-0002-6740-2501](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6740-2501)

Keywords:

Consumption, Luxury, Material culture, Hasan Tahsin Pasha, 19th century

Cite this article:

Gündiken, Özgür. "An Ottoman Bureaucrat's Luxury Purchases: The 1898 Invoice of Hasan Tahsin Pasha"

Keshif: E-Journal for Ottoman-Turkish Micro Editions 3/2 (Special Issue 2025): 21-26.

Available under <https://doi.org/10.25365/kshf-25-02-03>.

Article DOI [10.25365/kshf-25-02-03](https://doi.org/10.25365/kshf-25-02-03)

Published online July 07, 2025

© 2025 Özgür Gündiken, published by *Keshif*: E-Journal for Ottoman-Turkish Micro Editions.

This is an Open Access article licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0. International License (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

Context

This document is housed in the Ottoman State Archives under the classification *Yıldız Esās Evrākı*, catalogued as Y..EE.. / 53/94. It contains two invoices and a summary that records the debt of the first secretary of the imperial chamber (*mābeyn bāş kātibi*) to the imperial court jeweler (*sarāy kıyumcısı*). The document consists of three pages: the first invoice details the borrowed sum, the second records the purchase of jewelry and goods, and the final page presents the overall financial statements, summarizing the total amounts from both invoices. It is dated 26 *Receb* 1316 in the Hijri calendar, corresponding to 10 December 1898 in the Gregorian calendar. My analysis focuses on the second page of this document, which is particularly intriguing as it offers a glimpse into the luxury consumption habits of a high-ranking Ottoman bureaucrat.

The invoice mentions two important figures. The first one is, as indicated by the title at the top of the page, the court jeweler Haronaçi, a well-known and all-powerful¹ Jewish businessman and a prominent figure in Istanbul's high society.² He and his son, Jak *Efendi*, obtained this position at the court because Armenians were no longer considered trustworthy following the Armenian uprisings in the last decade of the 19th century.³ A strict policy against Armenians was adopted, and they were excluded from various government contracts and key economic positions. The chief court jeweler, a role traditionally held by Armenians, was among the affected positions.⁴ From crafting opulent insignias⁵ for the Ottoman state to supplying European luxury goods to the local market, Haronaçi played a key role in the consumption networks of the empire's high-society.

¹ Edhem Eldem, *Pride and Privilege: A History of Ottoman Orders, Medals and Decorations* (Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2004), 337.

² Son Posta, February 6, 1936, 4, https://www.gastearsivi.com/gazete/son_posta/1936-02-06/4 (accessed March 5, 2025).

³ Tahsin Paşa, Sultan II. Abdülhamid ve Yıldız Hatıraları, ed. Hamdi Akyol (Istanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2021), 256.

⁴ Tahsin Paşa, Sultan II. Abdülhamid ve Yıldız Hatıraları, ed. Hamdi Akyol (Istanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2021), 178 – 179; Edhem Eldem, *Pride and Privilege: A History of Ottoman Orders, Medals and Decorations* (Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2004), 337.

⁵ There are numerous documents in the Ottoman State Archives referring to his insignia work. For example: BOA. İ.DH. 1359/49; BOA. İ.DH. 1360/47; BOA. İ.DH. 1370/26.

The other figure referred in this invoice is an unnamed debtor, identified only by his title the first secretary of the imperial chamber. Given that Hasan Tahsin Pasha⁶ occupied this prestigious position between 1894 and 1908, it is evident that he was the debtor who acquired various luxury goods from Haronaçi, the court jeweler. It is not clear whether these purchases were made for the Imperial Chamber or for Tahsin Pasha himself. However, considering the nature of the items – such as personal adornments, a status-symbol piano, and a luxurious writing set – I think that these were personal acquisitions, likely intended for use in his various residences.⁷ Beyond the issue of personal debt, two of the items mentioned in the invoice – a silver candelabrum and a large Sèvres vase – were donated to the exhibition for the children of martyrs (*evlād-ı şühedā sergisi*). According to the exhibition catalogue⁸, they were recorded under Tahsin Pasha's name, further supporting the argument that these purchases were personal. This donation highlights how luxury goods functioned not only as symbols of personal prestige but also as political instruments, repurposed for public displays of piety, generosity,⁹ and loyalty to the state. Although it is difficult to determine whether this act was voluntary or an expected courtly duty, Tahsin Pasha demonstrated his allegiance to the sultan by making strategic use of the fluidity of luxury goods. Their ability to shift between personal possessions, political offerings, and public displays of loyalty made them powerful instruments in the Ottoman court.

The list features a wide variety of items, yet one of the most striking aspects of the document is the sheer diversity and opulence of the purchases. It includes jeweled accessories such as a ruby ring, a diamond and pearl brooch, and a Parisian-style gold belt – items that may have been intended for a family member, perhaps his wife. High-

⁶ On November 26, 1894, he was appointed to the position with a salary of 24,000 kurus. Naim Ürkmez ve Uğur Akbulut, "Sultan II. Abdülhamid'in Başkâtibi Tahsin Paşa," *Belleten*, cilt 86, sayı 306 (Ağustos 2022): 647 – 648.

⁷ Naim Ürkmez ve Uğur Akbulut, "Sultan II. Abdülhamid'in Başkâtibi Tahsin Paşa," *Belleten*, cilt 86, sayı 306 (Ağustos 2022): 658–660

⁸ Muḥārebe-i Ahīre Evlād-ı Şühedā' ve Ma'lūlîn-i 'Askeriyye Sergisi (Nuremberg: Fritz Schneller ve Şürekası Matbaası), Catalogue number 36 and 41, <https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/125030>.

⁹ For a more detailed discussion of these topics, see Nadir Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet: Siyaset, İktidar ve Meşruiyet (1876–1914)*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016).

end European imports, including a *Sèvres* vase and a piano from Berlin, also appear on the list. In addition, the document records functional luxury items like a silver-plated tray and a London-style silver tray, as well as personalized writing sets with trays. Considering that his salary was 24,000 *guruş*, these expenditures appear remarkably high. Contemporary accounts underscore his affluence and elevated social standing, further evidenced by the opulent residences and exclusive privileges bestowed upon him by Sultan Abdülhamid during his time in imperial office.¹⁰ Moreover, the last Ottoman court historian, Abdurrahman Şeref Bey, stated that Tahsin Pasha left the palace in debt due to poor financial management and his family's extravagance.¹¹ These substantial expenditures suggest either the presence of additional perks or support from the Sultan, and a level of consumption that exceeded the norms of typical bureaucratic life. Lastly, the presence of both Ottoman-crafted and European-imported items in the invoice reflects that Tahsin Pasha favored a hybrid aesthetic, blending traditional Ottoman craftsmanship with European goods associated with refinement and prestige. His selection reveals both a cultivated personal taste and an active engagement in curating his material world.

Transcription

zāt-ı ḥazret-i şehriyāriniñ ser kuyumcısı haronaçi

<i>mābeyn-i ḥümāyūn-ı mülūkāne bāş kātibi ‘atūfetlü beg efendimiz ḥazretleriniñ mübāya ‘a buyurdukları eşyā ḥesābı</i>	<i>lira-yı ‘osmānī ‘aded</i>	
<i>iki ‘aded yazu takımı ma ‘a tebsi fermān-ı sāmīleri üzre beheri on beşer liradan</i>	30	
<i>altun tesbīḥ kāmçısı</i>	1	50
<i>muraşşa ‘halḳalı yāḳūt yüzük bedeli</i>	25	
<i>gümüş şam ‘dān [çift?] h[?] fī bedeli evlād-ı şühedā</i>		
<i>sergisine ihdā buyurılan 1 2380 95 5640</i>	56	40
<i>londra-kārī gümüş kebīr tebsi 1895 115 5448</i>	54	48

¹⁰ Naim Ürkmez ve Uğur Akbulut, “Sultan II. Abdülhamid’in Başkâtibi Tahsin Paşa,” *Belleten*, cilt 86, sayı 306 (Ağustos 2022): 658–660, 656–657, 672.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 655.

sevr vazo kebîr [çift?] evlād-ı şühedā sergisine ihdā buyurılan 1	45	
eski ma 'den mā'î çiçeklik [çift?] 1	27	
müzāyededden mübāya 'a olunarak taqdīm kılınan gümüş kaplama müdevver tebsi	25	
nezd-i sāmīlerinde bulunan muraşşa ' ve altun paris-kārī kemer	720	
	984	38
berlinden mübāya 'a olunan bir 'aded piyano ma 'a meşārif ingiliz lirası 'aded piyano 60 maşrafı 12 72	79	20
paris-kārī [?] 72 frank 'aded 650	28	
bir 'aded na 'l resminde elmaslı incüli broş mark 'aded 600	33 1124	58

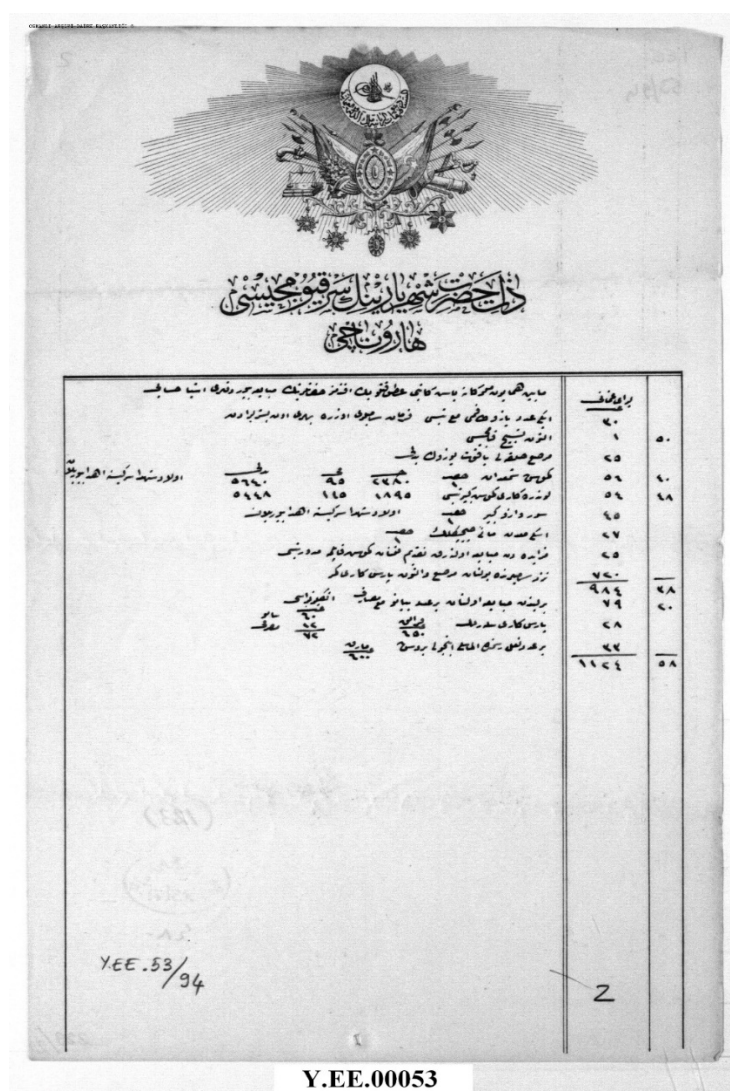
Translation

Haronaçi, the Imperial Court Jeweler to His Majesty

The invoice of goods purchased by the first secretary of the imperial chamber, the benevolent and esteemed <i>beg efendi</i>	Ottoman lira unit	
In accordance with his supreme decree, two writing sets with the trays at a price of fifteen <i>liras</i> each	30	
Golden prayer bead whip	1	50
Cost of the ruby ring with an inlaid bezel	25	
Silver candelabrum [pair?] h[?] price cost donated to the 1 2380 95 5640 exhibition for the children of martyrs	56	40
Large silver tray in the London style 1895 115 5448	54	48
Large Sèvres vase [pair?] donated to the exhibition for the 1 children of martyrs	45	
Antique metal blue flowerpot [pair?] 1	27	
The silver-plated round tray purchased at an auction and presented	25	
The jeweled and gold Parisian belt in his supreme possession	720	

A piano purchased from Berlin, with expenses included	English <i>lira</i> unit	984 79	38 20
Parisian [?]	piano 60 expense 12 72 Franc unit	28	
A horseshoe-shaped brooch with diamonds and pearls	650 Mark unit 600	33 1124	58

Facsimile



Bibliography

Primary Sources

Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı, Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Yıldız Esas Evrakı (Y..EE..), 53/94.

Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı, Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), İrade Dahiliye (İ..DH..), 1359/49, 1360/47, 1370/26.

Secondary Sources

Eldem, Edhem. *Pride and Privilege: A History of Ottoman Orders, Medals and Decorations*. Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2004.

Muḥārebe-i Ahīre Evlād-ı Şühedā' ve Ma'lūlīn-i 'Askeriyye Sergisi. *Catalogue*. Nuremberg: Fritz Schneller ve Şürekası Matbaası. Catalogue numbers 36 and 41.

<https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/125030>.

Özbek, Nadir. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet: Siyaset, İktidar ve Meşruiyet (1876–1914)*. Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016.

Paşa, Tahsin. *Sultan II. Abdülhamid ve Yıldız Hatıraları*. Edited by Hamdi Akyol. Istanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2021.

Son Posta. "Son Posta Gazetesi." February 6, 1936, 4.

https://www.gastearsivi.com/gazete/son_posta/1936-02-06/4.

Ürkmez, Naim, and Uğur Akbulut. "Sultan II. Abdülhamid'in Başkâtibi Tahsin Paşa." *Bellefen* 86, no. 306 (Ağustos 2022): 647–672.

The Allocations (*Ta 'yīnāt*) of Abdurrahman Paşa in 1760

Sümeyye Hoşgör Büke

Author:

PhD, Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Vienna

suemeyye.hosgoer.bueke@univie.ac.at

ORCID: [0009-0006-6400-6198](https://orcid.org/0009-0006-6400-6198)

Keywords:

Ta 'yīnāt, Allocation, Consumption, Food, Darendeli Sarı Abdurrahman Paşa, 18th century

Cite this article:

Hoşgör Büke, Sümeyye. “The Allocations (*Ta 'yīnāt*) of Abdurrahman Paşa in 1760”
Keshif: E-Journal for Ottoman-Turkish Micro Editions 3/2 (Special Issue 2025): 27-33.
Available under <https://doi.org/10.25365/kshf-25-02-04>.

ArticleDOI10.25365/kshf-25-02-04

Published online July 07, 2025

© 2025 Sümeyye Hoşgör Büke, published by *Keshif: E-Journal for Ottoman-Turkish Micro Editions*.

This is an Open Access article licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0. International License
(<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

Context

This record is found within the Ankara court records numbered AŞS 831/83.¹ It details the daily allocation of Darendeli Sarı Abdurrahman Paşa, the former governor of Karaman in his arrival to Ankara. In this regard, it represents one of the routine allocation registers documented in the court records. However, the primary significance of this document lies in its date, which provides critical historical context. The document was recorded in *ğurre-i Zilka 'deti'ş-şerîf 1173* / 15 June 1760 which is the day just following his agreement with the Sultan Mustafa III while marching through Istanbul with his men.

To briefly summarize, during his duty as governor of Karaman, Abdurrahman Paşa arrested a group of bandits but later released them in exchange for a sum of money. When this came to the attention of Sultan Mustafa III, the sultan demanded that Abdurrahman Paşa be removed from duty and executed. However, Abdurrahman Paşa defied this order and began marching toward Istanbul, supported by a contingent of approximately 700 to 800 men. It should be noted that during his march toward Istanbul, this number grew significantly, reaching nearly 2,000 men as others joined his ranks.² At this point, the grand vizier intervened and mediated between the parties, successfully stopping Abdurrahman Paşa near Bolu, in the Gerede region. The agreement required Abdurrahman Paşa to return to his hometown, Darendede, and to disperse those who had autonomously joined his march but were not part of his original contingent.³ This document is released in *Fî'l-âhîr min Şevvâl/14* June 1760, which is just one day before the daily allocations were designated to him. Within this framework, the allocation record needs further attention to comprehend its significance. From the perspective of food consumption, the document holds dual importance: it offers a valuable perspective

¹ My copy of the document was collected from the Milli Kütüphane (National Library), specifically from the Sharia Court Records Archive, in 2021 under the archival number 831/83. Upon further verification through the online platform devletarsivleri.gov.tr, I discovered that the same document is catalogued within the *Meşihat* Registers under a different number. It is accessible on the digital platform of the Ottoman archives under the number 145/83.

² Mesut Aydın, "Sinek Sözüyle İş Yapan Pâdişahın Hâli' Ya Da Karaman Valisi Darendeli Sarı Abdurrahman Paşa İsyanı," *Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*(16), 785-799.

³ BOA, MD 161, 1173, cited in Mesut Aydın, "Sinek Sözüyle İş Yapan Pâdişahın Hâli' Ya Da Karaman Valisi Darendeli Sarı Abdurrahman Paşa İsyanı," *Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* (16), 785-799.

on the categorization of staple and luxury foods while also providing insights into the hierarchy of food distribution.

The record reveals that daily 1500 *kıyye* of bread, 750 *kıyye* of mutton, 250 *kıyye* of rice, 150 *kıyye* of clarified butter, 500 *kıyye* of *bulgur*, 10 *kıyye* honey, 5 *kıyye* sugar, 5 *kıyye* quality flour and a sufficient quantity of vegetables allocated to Abdurrahman Paşa along with non-food supplies like beeswax, tallow and wood. Some of the supplies recorded in the document with a higher quantity such as bread, mutton, clarified butter, rice and *bulgur*, indicate that they were provided to enable Abdurrahman Paşa to sustain the men accompanying him on his march toward Istanbul. On the other hand, the limited quantities of items such as sugar, honey, and quality flour suggest that these were allocated specifically for Abdurrahman Paşa and his close circle. This certifies the existence of a hierarchy in food distribution and consumption, reflecting distinctions based on social status. This can also be interpreted as while bread, mutton, clarified butter, rice, and *bulgur* being considered as staple foods, the limited quantities of items such as sugar, honey, and high-quality flour were considered as luxury that were reserved exclusively for higher ranks. It is interesting to note that the category of vegetables in the list of daily allocation does not specify any quantities. The document only says “*Sebzevāt miqdār-ı kifāyet*”, which means “an adequate amount of vegetables”. But the uncertainty or ambiguity of the phrase makes it impossible to include this category within any of the aforementioned ones. Except for wood, all the allocated items are recorded in the imperial kitchen registers, along with nearly 60 other items, making this an important detail to note.⁴

⁴ Tülay Artan, “Aspects of Ottoman Elite’s Food Consumption: Looking for “Staples,” “Luxuries,” and “Delicacies” in a Changing Century”, in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000. 119–125. There are studies that focus on the food distribution and redistribution: Hedda Reindl-Kiel, “Breads for the Followers, Silver Vessels for the Lord: The System of Distribution and Redistribution in the Ottoman Empire, (16th–18th c.),” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 42 (2013): 93–104. Hedda Reindl Kiel, “Simits for the Sultan, Cloves for the Mynah Birds: Records of Food Distribution in the Saray,” Angela Jianu – Violeta Barbu (eds.), *Earthly Delights: Economies and Cultures of Food in Ottoman and Danubian Europe, c. 1500–1900*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2018, pp. 50–76.

From a different perspective, considering the context of the document issued shortly after his march toward Istanbul, the allocation of non-staple goods, such as sugar, exclusively to Abdurrahman Paşa and his inner circle may suggest that the Ottoman state adopted a deliberately non-vindictive approach toward him. As Karen Barkey notes, the Ottoman response to acts of rebellion was not uniform; while some rebels were ultimately executed, Abdurrahman Paşa was granted supplies, albeit in a controlled and calculated manner. This aligns with the notion that “imperial domination is never complete; it is negotiated.”⁵ However, a comparison of the allocation registers reveals that the provisions given to the former Karaman Governor, Abdurrahman Paşa, were less generous than those allocated to others in similar positions. While other allocations included a variety of food items—such as chicken, eggs, milk, *şeker-i frenk*, lamb, coffee, spices, and almonds—none of these goods were allocated to Darendeli Sarı Abdurrahman Paşa.⁶

The choice of specific words in records also support the situation. Although the text of Abdurrahman Paşa’s allocation record remains simple and unadorned, the other two records employ more elaborate and refulgent expressions, such as “*devletlü*” and “*ināyetlü*” to describe the recipients. Furthermore, while the term “*maṭlūb*” (requested or required) is used in Abdurrahman Paşa’s record to define the allocations given to him, the other two records opt for “*iḳtizā*” (necessary or appropriate). This linguistic distinction reflects a subtle but meaningful differentiation in tone and perhaps in the perceived legitimacy or status of the recipients. In conclusion, this brief allocation document provides scholars with an opportunity to examine the hierarchy of food consumption and gain insight into the categorization of staple and luxury foods through the lens of the Ottoman state in the eighteenth century.

⁵ Karen Barkey, *The Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2008, 154-160.

⁶ AŞS 825/61, AŞS 833/91, AŞS 833/93a.

Transcription

Sābıkā Karaman vālisi vezīr-i muhterem devletlū ‘Abdurrahmān Paşa hāzretleri medīne-i Ankaraya teşrīflerinde rûz-merre tarafından maṭlûb olınan ecnās-ı zehā’ir defteridür. Fī ğurre-i Zilkā ‘deti’ş-şerīf 1173

Harc : 3000

Nān-ı ‘azīz: 1500 kıyye

Laḥm-ı ğanem: 750 kıyye

Revġan-ı sāde: 150 kıyye

Pirinc: 250 kıyye

Bulġur: 500 kıyye

‘Asel: 10 kıyye

Şeker: 5 kıyye

Dakīk-i ḥāşş: 5 kıyye

Şem’-i ‘asel: 5 kıyye

Şem’-i revġan: 15 kıyye

Hātab: 30 yük

Sebzevāt miqdār-ı kifāyet

‘Alef-i şa’ir: 3000

Translation

With the arrival of the former governor of Karaman, the honorable and illustrious vizier, his highness Abdurrahman Paşa to the city of Ankara these are the daily provisions and supplies recorded. 15 June 1760

Subsistence: 3000

Bread: 1500 kıyye

Mutton: 750 kıyye

Clarified butter: 150 kıyye

Rice: 250 kıyye

Pounded wheat: 500 kıyye

the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922, edited by Donald Quataert, 107–200. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000.

Aydiner, Mesut. “Sinek Sözüyle İş Yapan Pâdişahın Hâli’ Ya Da Karaman Valisi Darendeli Sarı Abdurrahman Paşa İsyanı,” *Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Der-gisi* 16, (2006): 785-799.

Barkey, Karen. *The Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2008.

Priscilla Mary Işın. *Osmanlı Mutfak Sözlüğü*, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2010.

Reindl-Kiel, Hedda. “Breads for the Followers, Silver Vessels for the Lord: The System of Distribution and Redistribution in the Ottoman Empire, (16th-18th c.),” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 42 (2013): 93–104.

Reindl-Kiel, Hedda. “Simits for the Sultan, Cloves for the Mynah Birds: Records of Food Distribution in the Saray,” in *Earthly Delights: Economies and Cultures of Food in Ottoman and Danubian Europe, c. 1500-1900*, edited by Angela Jianu – Violeta Barbu, 50-76. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2018.

The Imperial *Berāt* and the Brand: Award for Feeding Wounded Ottoman Soldiers During the First Balkan War

Yavuz Köse

Author:

Faculty Member, Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Vienna

yavuz.koese@univie.ac.at

ORCID: [0000-0002-8740-5275](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8740-5275)

Keywords:

Berāt, Nestlé Company, Consumption, Advertisement, Marketing, 20th century

Cite this article:

Köse, Yavuz. "The Imperial *Berāt* and the Brand: Award for Feeding Wounded Ottoman Soldiers During the First Balkan War".

Keshif: E-Journal for Ottoman-Turkish Micro Editions 3/2 (Special Issue 2025): 34-42.

Available under <https://doi.org/10.25365/kshf-25-02-05>.

ArticleDOI10.25365/kshf-25-02-05

Published online July 07, 2025

© 2025 Yavuz Köse, published by *Keshif*: E-Journal for Ottoman-Turkish Micro Editions.

This is an Open Access article licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0. International License (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

Context

Founded in 1868 in Vevey, Switzerland, Nestlé was one of the first multinational companies to operate in the Ottoman Empire. By the 1870s, the company was already selling its first product, *Farine lactée* (infant formula), globally – across Europe, the Middle East, Asia, Australia and the Americas. Among the 23 countries in which Nestlé operated, the Ottoman Empire ranked 15th in terms of sales of *Farine lactée*. By 1914, Nestlé's products were available in over 95 countries. A distinctive feature of the company was its diverse marketing strategy.¹

Nestlé employed various methods to promote its products—including *Farine lactée*, condensed milk, cacao, and chocolate—and sought to create a decentralized distribution system. This strategy involved building strong relationships with local stakeholders, such as grocers, pharmacists, chemists, and doctors.

Amid the first Balkan war in 1912, Nestlé opened its own branch in Istanbul. From 1913, the Istanbul branch managed not only the “Turkish” market but also operations in the Balkans and Egypt. The branch was headed by Édouard Muller, who would later become Nestlé's CEO (1937–1948). Muller had already travelled to Istanbul around 1909 “with a roving commission to study, and, if possible, develop business in the Balkan countries”. This trip made it clear to him that “to expand there, Nestlé would have to eschew traditional methods and break new ground by more active personal canvassing of retail outlets and by intensification of general and educative publicity and additionally closer supervision of distribution by Nestlé's own representatives trained especially for this purpose.”²

Under Muller's leadership, the Istanbul branch became a pioneer in marketing innovation. Several advertising and marketing concepts developed in the “Department du

¹ On Nestlé's marketing activities in the Ottoman Empire see Yavuz Köse, *Westlicher Konsum am Bosporus Warenhäuser, Nestlé & Co. im späten Osmanischen Reich (1855–1923)* (München: R. Oldenbourg – de Gruyter, 2010), 302–348; Yavuz Köse, *Dersaadet'te Tüketim (1855–1923)* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2016), 240–284 and Yavuz Köse, “Nestlé in the Ottoman Empire: Global Marketing with Local Flavor, 1870–1927”, *Enterprise & Society* 9 (2008): 724–761.

² Quotes are from the brochure “This is our own company”, see Köse, *Westlicher Konsum am Bosporus*, 227–228.

Publicité” in Istanbul were later adopted in Western European markets and featured in Nestlé’s marketing magazine, *Bulletin Mensuel de Publicité*.

Between 1911 and 1914—and extending to 1918—wars worsened Ottoman society’s economic and social situation. During this period, the Ottoman state endured successive disasters: the Tripoli War with Italy (1911-1912), the First Balkan War (1912), and the Second Balkan War (1913). These conflicts culminated in the First World War and the subsequent War of Liberation (1919–1923). This era also saw mass expulsions, massacres, and genocide, events that ultimately led to the collapse of the Ottoman multi-ethnic and multireligious state.

There is no doubt that demand for Nestlé dairy products increased as a result of these wars, “mainly in the form of government contracts,” in the company’s own words.³ Nestlé leveraged Switzerland’s neutrality to supply milk—a scarce commodity—to armies on all sides of the aforementioned conflicts, managing operations directly from its Istanbul branch. Although no direct evidence has been found of a formal contract between Nestlé and the Ottoman government, it is highly likely such a contract existed, as it aligned with the company’s policy at the time to secure government contracts. The document presented here provides clear evidence of a connection between Nestlé, the Ottoman government, and its army.

The document in question⁴ is a *berāt*—an imperial decree issued in the Sultan’s name and bearing his royal monogram (*tughra*). As was customary with sultanic decrees, the document opens with the name of Allah (*hüve*) – in later documents often rendered as the stylised letter he (◌). Traditionally, *berāts* (also referred to as *biti* and *nişān*) conferred offices, honours, sources of income, and tax exemptions.⁵ In the later Ottoman

³ Ibid., 231-232. See also Jean Heer, *Nestlé. Hundertfünfundzwanzig Jahre. Von 1861 bis 1991* (Vevey: Nestlé AG, 1991), 118-128.

⁴ I would like to express my sincere thanks to Claudia Römer for helping me to read difficult words and to adapt the English translation of the document. I would also like to thank the anonymous reviewer for the useful suggestions.

⁵ On *berāts* see Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerinin Dili (Diplomatik)* (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Akademisi Kültür ve San’at Vakfı 1998), 124-145 and Numan Yekeler et.al. (eds), *Osmanlı Ferman ve Beratları* (İstanbul: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı, 2021).

period, these documents were primarily used to record the awarding of orders and medals.⁶ The present *berāt* is an example of such a document. It certifies the award of a silver industrial medal to the Nestlé Company (*nestle fabrikası*) for provisioning Ottoman veterans of the First Balkan War. It was issued on 15 January 1913.

Under Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909) and his successor Mehmed V (r. 1909-1918), the number of *berāts* increased considerably. These were increasingly printed rather than handwritten, as in earlier periods. The *tughra* and the formulaic opening sentence – written in the highly stylized calligraphic style of *celī dīvānī* – were often printed in gold. During the First World War, as more and more medals and decorations were awarded, the standardized main text (in the calligraphic style *dīvānī*) was also printed, with blanks left for inserting the recipient's name and the reason for the award.⁷

The original document was unavailable to the author, and whether it survived is unclear. A photograph from 1919 shows the award certificate framed in the office of the director (A. Gredinger) of the Istanbul branch of Nestlé.⁸

It is impossible to tell from the (poor) photograph whether this is the original (and handwritten) document. However, the size of the document suggests that the upper half (the area between the *hüve* and the *tughra*) was cut off to fit into the frame or simply because the meaning of the *hüve* was unknown.⁹ Nevertheless, it may be assumed that this certificate, like most of those produced during this period, was printed and issued together with the medal.

The award certificate (and the medal) was first depicted in 1914 in a lavishly illustrated 24-page Nestlé supplement to the leading magazine of the time, *Şervet-i*

⁶ On the history of orders and medals see Edhem Eldem, *İftihar ve İmtiyaz. Osmanlı Nişan ve Madalyaları Tarihi* (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2004).

⁷ Yavuz Köse, "Orders and Bestowal Documents", in *Wunder der erschaffenen Dinge: Osmanische Manuskripte in Hamburger Sammlungen – Wonders of Creation: Ottoman Manuscripts from Hamburg Collections*, eds. Janina Karolewski and Yavuz Köse (Hamburg 2018 2nd revised ed. (= manuscript cultures 9), 180-183.

⁸ Saadet Özen, *Çukolata. Çikolatanın Yerli Tarihi* (İstanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Yayınları, 2012), 84-85.

⁹ *Berāts* from this period were usually written (printed) on paper, which was then folded crosswise into four layers. Some documents show only three-layer folds; in these cases, the top part containing the *hüve* has usually been cut off. See, for example, the illustrations of a *berāts* with *hüve* folded into four layers and one example of a *berāts* without *hüve* folded into three layers in Eldem, *İftihar ve İmtiyaz*, on pages 318 and 430 (with *hüve*) and on page 417 without *hüve*.

Fünūn. This is probably the first example of a comprehensive information brochure by a Western company introducing itself to a wider, educated and affluent Ottoman readership. The document and medal also appear in a company yearbook produced in 1915 for the Latin American market. This served to document Nestlé's global reach and success.¹⁰

According to the document, Nestlé, which donated an unspecified quantity of condensed milk, powdered milk, and other products to the hospital (*harem-i hümayūn hastaḥānesi*¹¹) to aid Ottoman soldiers wounded in the First Balkan War, was awarded the silver industrial medal by Sultan Mehmed V. This can be interpreted as part of a strategy to strengthen ties with the Ottoman state and key institutions such as the Red Crescent and hospitals, as well as their leading figures, such as Besim Ömer, the most famous Ottoman doctor of the time, who also was president of the Red Crescent. In the same Nestlé supplement, Besim Ömer also praises Nestlé products, pointing out that they are used in all Red Crescent hospitals.¹²

Nestlé's long-standing ability to maintain close relationships with influential local figures and decision-makers was one of its greatest strengths. This strategy enabled the company to navigate the decline of the Ottoman Empire and seamlessly adapt to the new conditions of the Republic of Turkey. In 1927, Nestlé opened its first chocolate factory in Istanbul, and by 1930 it had launched the first "Turkish" chocolate "*Dolca*". Under the aegis of Atatürk, the state vigorously promoted patriotic shopping, and Turkish consumers were encouraged to buy local products through the press and to exhibit them at local fairs (*yerli malı sanayi sergileri*). Nestlé likewise exhibited its products alongside those of Turkish companies at the same local fairs, using the slogan of the time: "*Yerli Malı Kullan!*" (Consume local goods).

¹⁰ Köse, *Konsum am Bosporus*, 312-328.

¹¹ It is highly likely that the hospital, which is not mentioned by name, refers to the institution described in other contemporary documents as the "Sarayı Humayun Hastahanesi" or "Harem-i Humayun Hastahanesi", where soldiers wounded in the First Balkan War were treated. See Seçil Karal Akgün, Murat Uluğtekin, *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a* (Ankara: Alternatif Ajans, 2002), here 153, 412 and 414.

¹² Köse, *Konsum am Bosporus*, 339-340. See also *Şervet-i Fünūn* 1186, *ilāve kısmı* (13 Şubāt 1329/ 26 February 1914), 14.

Transcription

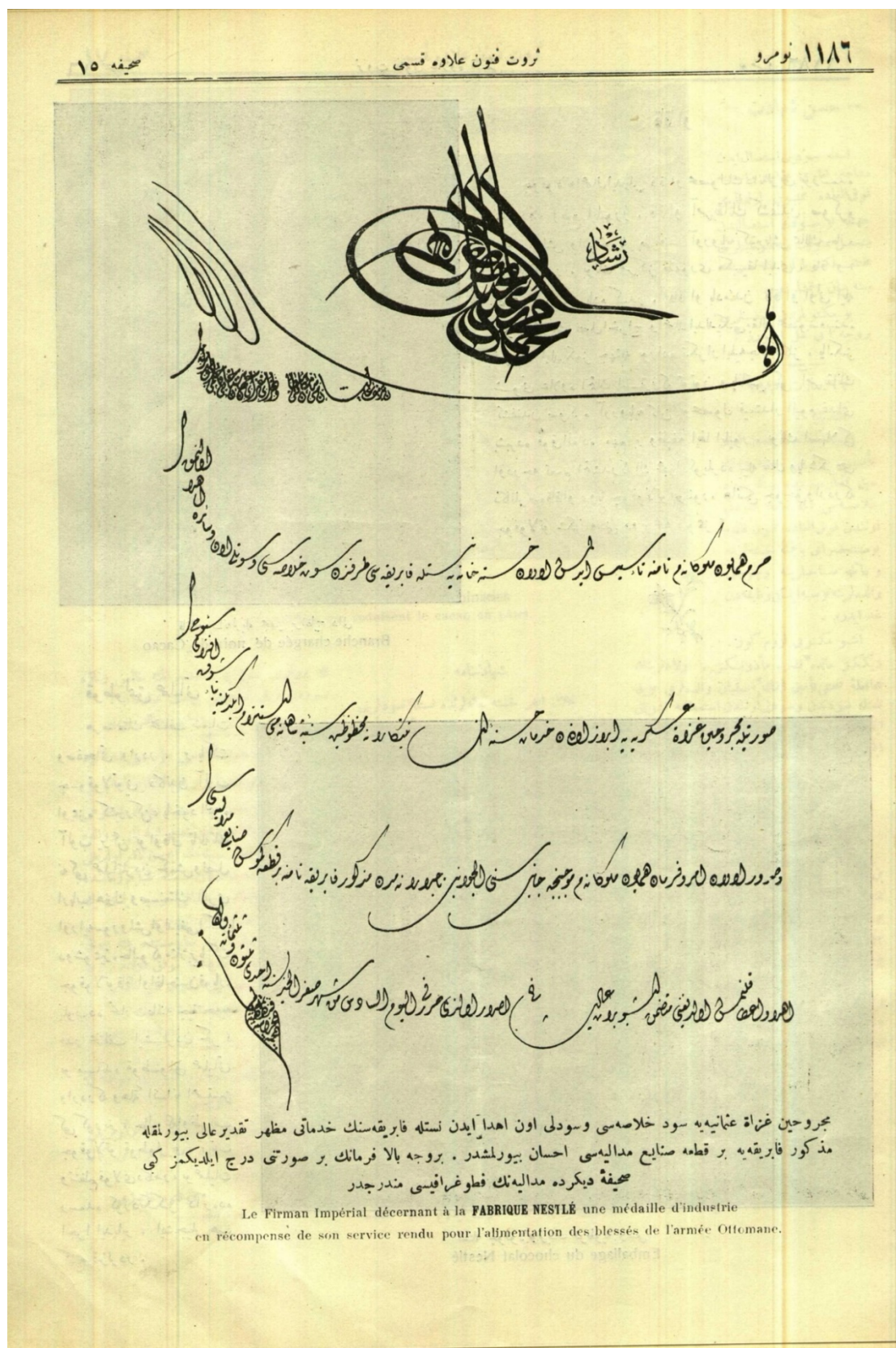
- (1) *Mehmed hân bin 'Abdü'l-Mecîd el-muẓaffer dâ'imâ (Reşâd)Nişân-ı şerîf-i 'âlî-şân-ı sâmi-mekân-ı sultânî ve tuğrâ-yı ğarrâ-yı cihân-sitân-ı hâkânî hükmi oldur ki*
- (2) *Harem-i hümayûn-i mülûkânem nâmına te'sîs edilmiş olan hastahâneye nestle fabrikası tarafından süt hülâşası ve sütlü un ve sâ'ire ihdâ olunmak*
- (3) *şûretiyle mecrûhîn ğuzât-ı 'askeriyyeye ibrâz olunan hîdemât-ı hasene-i insâniyyet-kârâne mahzûziyyet-i seniyye-i şâhânemi istilzâm eyledigine binâ'en şeref-efzây-ı sunûh*
- (4) *ve şudûr olan emr ü fermân-ı hümayûn-ı mülûkânem mücibince cânib-i seniyyü'l-cevânib-i tâcdârânemden mezkûr fabrika nâmına bir kıt'a gümüş şânâyî 'madâlyası*
- (5) *ihdâ ve i'tâ kılınmış olduğunu muzmin işbu berât-ı 'âlî-şânüm ısdâr olundu hürrire fî'l-yevmi's-sâdis min şehri'l şaferi'l hayr li-senet ihdâ selâsûn ve selâsümi'etin ve-elf*
- (6) *be-makâm-ı Kostañtiniyyeti'l-mahrûse el-mahmiyye*

Translation

- (1) Mehmed Khan, son of Abdülmecid, who is granted victory always (Reşad)
- (2) This is the decree of the noble, exalted, and sublime sultanic emblem and the illustrious, world-conquering imperial cipher:
- (3) The Nestlé factory (company) has donated milk extract, milk powder, and other items (products) to the hospital established in the name of my exalted and imperial harem,
- (4) therefore, the benevolent and humanitarian services rendered to the wounded military veterans have necessitated my lofty imperial satisfaction, and therefore, based on my exalted and imperial
- (5) order that has been honourably issued, on behalf of my lofty crown-bearing person, a silver industry medal
- (6) has been gifted and bestowed on the aforementioned factory (company), and this exalted *berât* has been issued to that effect. Written on the sixth day of the month

of Safer the auspicious, in the year one thousand three hundred and thirty-one
(6 Safer 1331 / 15 January 1913)

(7) In the residence of Constantinople, the well-protected and guarded



Bibliography

Primary Source

Şervet-i Fünûn 1186, 'ilâve kısmı (13 Şubât 1329/ 26 February 1914), 15.

Secondary Sources

Almanaque de la Harina Lacteada Nestlé. 1915.

Eldem, Edhem, *İftihar ve İmtiyaz. Osmanlı Nişan ve Madalyaları Tarihi*. İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2004.

Heer, Jean, *Nestlé. Hundertfünfundzwanzig Jahre. Von 1861 bis 1991*. Vevey: Nestlé AG, 1991.

Karal Akgün, Seçil, Murat Uluğtekin, *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a*. Ankara: Alternatif Ajans, 2002.

Köse, Yavuz, "Orders and Bestowal Documents". In *Wunder der erschaffenen Dinge: Osmanische Manuskripte in Hamburger Sammlungen – Wonders of Creation: Ottoman Manuscripts from Hamburg Collections*, edited by Janina Karolewski and Yavuz Köse, 180-183. Hamburg 2018, 2nd revised ed. (= manuscript cultures 9).

Köse, Yavuz, *Dersaadet'te Tüketim (1855-1923)*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2016.

Köse, Yavuz, *Westlicher Konsum am Bosphorus Warenhäuser, Nestlé & Co. im späten Osmanischen Reich (1855-1923)*. München: R. Oldenbourg – de Gruyter, 2010.

Köse, Yavuz, "Nestlé in the Ottoman Empire: Global Marketing with Local Flavor 1870-1927." *Enterprise & Society* 9 (2008): 724-761.

Kütükoğlu, Mübahat S., *Osmanlı Belgelerinin Dili (Diplomatik)*. İstanbul: Kubbealtı Akademisi Kültür ve San'at Vakfı 1998. Yekeler, Numan et.al, *Osmanlı Ferman ve Beratları*. İstanbul: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı 2021.

Özen, Saadet, *Çukolata. Çikolatanın Yerli Tarihi*, İstanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Yayınları, 2012. *Şervet-i Fünûn* 1186, 'ilâve kısmı (supplement) (13 Şubât 1329/ 26 February 1914).

Yekeler, Numan et.al, *Osmanlı Ferman ve Beratları*. İstanbul: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı 2021.

A Hebrew Expense Account from Edirne, c. 1735

Yaron Ben-Naeh

Author:

Faculty Member, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Yaronbn@mail.huji.ac.il
ORCID: [0000-0001-6737-6668](https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6737-6668)

Keywords:

Ottoman, Sephardim, Food, Prices, Ladino, Hebrew, 18th Century

Cite this article:

Ben-Naeh, Yaron. "A Hebrew Expense Account from Edirne, c. 1735"
Keshif: E-Journal for Ottoman-Turkish Micro Editions 3/2 (Special Issue 2025): 43-51.
Available under <https://doi.org/10.25365/kshf-25-02-06>.

Article DOI [10.25365/kshf-25-02-06](https://doi.org/10.25365/kshf-25-02-06)

Published online July 07, 2025

© 2025 Yaron Ben Naeh, published by *Keshif: E-Journal for Ottoman-Turkish Micro Editions*.

This is an Open Access article licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0. International License
(<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

Context

Academic interest in Ottoman food consumption and cuisine advanced impressively in the last two decades, both in correlation with the general trend of cultural studies and material culture; and with Turkey's growing interest and attraction with its Ottoman imperial past.¹ Yet, very little has been done in regard to the culinary culture of Sephardi-Ottoman Jews besides the work of Karen Gerson Şarhon, who mostly deals with the later phase – late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.² This article presents two Jewish expense accounts, which are practically shopping lists, the only ones found to date from the Ottoman realms. This is part of a larger project, and it demonstrates the importance of Hebrew manuscripts as a source for original data, in this case for food culture and food consumption among Ottoman Jews.

Ottoman Jewry at the eighteenth century remained an urban society, but was different than that of the sixteenth century. It was more homogenic, Sephardi in its nature, and culturally much closer to the surrounding Muslim society and acculturated in it, both in the western parts of the empire, and in its Arabic speaking regions. Each

¹ See for example: Tülay Artan, "Aspects of the Ottoman Elite's Food Consumption: Looking for 'Staples', 'Luxuries', and 'Delicacies' in a Changing Century", Donald Quataert (ed.), *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922: An Introduction*, Albany 2000, 107-200; Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph Neumann (eds.), *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture*, Ergon in commission: Wurzburg, 2003; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Surviving Istanbul: Struggles, Feasts and Calamities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Koç University: Istanbul 2023; Elif Akçetin and Suraiya Faroqhi (eds.), *Living the Good Life: Consumption in the Qing and Ottoman Empires in the Eighteenth Century*, Brill: Leiden 2017; James Grehan, *Everyday Life and Consumer Culture in 18th Century Damascus*, University of Washington Press: Seattle-London 2007; Amy Singer (ed.), *Starting with Food: Culinary Approaches to Ottoman History*, Princeton University Press: Princeton 2011. For books that are more focused on Ottoman culinary, some written with nostalgic tone see: Arif Bilgin and Özge Samancı (eds.), *Turkish Cuisine*, Ankara 2008; Priscilla Mary Işın, *Sherbet and Spice: The Story of Turkish Sweets and Deserts*, London 2013; id., *Bountiful Empire: A History of Ottoman Cuisine*, London 2018; Marianna Yerasimos, *500 Years of Ottoman Cuisine*, Istanbul 2015; id., Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nde Yemek Kültürü, Istanbul 2019.

² See for example Karen Gerson Şarhon, *The Kitchen*, in: Yaron Ben Naeh (ed.), *Turkey*, Ben Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East: Jerusalem 2009, pp. 273-280 (Hebrew); Avraham Elqayam, "Sabbatean Cookery: Food, Memory, and Feminine Identity in Modern Turkey", *Kabbalah*, 14 (2006), 7-46. I am about to publish in the *Festschrift* for Prof. Tamar Alexander an article that will relate to Ottoman Sephardi culinary the 16th - early 19th centuries.

Jewish family belonged to a congregation (*'kahal'*) – paying its taxes and praying in its synagogue. These communal organizations supplied their members with various services (a synagogue for prayer, a graveyard, kosher meat, religious teaching and a judicial body) and mediated between the individuals and the Ottoman authorities. Other services, such as mutual aid and care for poor sick were supplied through benevolent societies.

It is only recently that the Jewish community of Edirne received some scholarly attention.³ In the 1730's the community which may have mounted to around 3000 souls was comprised of 12-13 congregations, headed by a joint governing body and two chief rabbis. Dozens of those Jews were of *Istanbullu* origin, who moved to Edirne because of their dealings with the imperial court and the army. While being somewhat under the shadow of Istanbul, Edirne's community and its rabbis were in some respects a center of Jewish life for the south eastern parts of the Balkans.

Researchers of Ottoman Jewry have at their disposal a plethora of Hebrew, Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, and some European sources, both in print and in manuscript. Hundreds of Hebrew manuscript volumes and thousands of documents from Ottoman Jewish communities, are at our disposal, but many of them are still understudied. Most of the volumes are of rabbinic nature reflecting the ongoing studies of various aspects of Jewish law, thought and religious culture. Yet, at time, a patient reader may find surprising documents – either personal autobiographic scribbles (such as dreams), notes on climate or historic events, deeds, or whole manuscripts that are of a different nature, e.g. popular medicine and magic, private correspondence or business matters.

I wish to present here two rare scribbled lists concerning food, both written by the same hand. I found them in a Hebrew manuscript whose provenance – according to the names mentioned, and the fact it originates from the private collection of Prof. Abraham

³ See Rifat Bali's volume, and especially Karagedikli and Ben-Naeh's article in it: Güler Karagedikli & Yaron Ben-Naeh, "The Communal Authority in the Edirne Jewish Community: Reflections on the Names, c. 1720-1820", in: Doğa Filiz Subaşı & Rifat Bali (eds.), *The Jewish Community of Edirne*, Libra Press: Istanbul 2024, pp. 65-91. For a more comprehensive description of Ottoman Jewry in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century see Yaron Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans*, Mohr-Siebeck: Tübingen 2008.

Danon (Edirne 1857- Paris 1925) - is probably Edirne. A few dates inscribed in it suggest it was written during the 1730's.⁴ The manuscript holds less than 10 quarto pages and contains a very sporadic bookkeeping - various accounts, donations and expenses, charity money, book titles, and even details of a few dowries. The anonymous author, who was undoubtedly a religious scholar, and perhaps even managed a rabbinic academy (*yeshiva*), left two lists concerning food and food prices: the first document is an account of daily expenses covering three days; and the other is a list of groceries bought for two Saturday (*shabbat*) meals, as well as the prices paid for them. We also don't know the quantities bought nor the number of the intended diners, and why these specific lists and none others were scribbled in that notebook. Nevertheless, it still gives us an idea of the relatively simple, local ingredients used for a somewhat festive dinner at a home of a middle class or even upper middle-class Jewish family, as the presence of meat, chicken and fish suggest. Meat and eggs were important sources for protein, together with legumes (here probably under 'vegetables') and cheese and other dairy products. The latter are absent here on account of Jewish dietary laws that forbid their consumption with meat. The presence of various cereals reveals their central place in contemporary diet. This is even accentuated when noticing the absence of rice from the lists. Rice was not an accessible popular commodity until the second half of the eighteenth century.⁵ Another absentee is a sweetener (such as sugar or honey) or even some sweet pastry, evidently as these were still expensive, markers of elite status, and reserved by ordinary families for the most festive meals. Fruit and coffee seem to have served as a dessert. Noteworthy is the purchase of coal, drinking water, and ready-to-eat bread.

⁴ University Library for Languages and Civilizations in Paris, Ms. no. 8, System no. 990001833290205171. Courtesy of "Ktiv" Project, The National Library of Israel, Jerusalem. https://www.nli.org.il/he/manuscripts/NNL_ALEPH990001833290205171/NLI#sFL58789983

⁵ For some references that claim that until the eighteenth-century rice was prestigious and that routine consumption of rice characterized the kitchens of the elite and the imperial court, see Artan, *Aspects*, p. 126, 175-6; Yerasimos, *500 Years*, p. 107. Rice was important enough so that portions of rice (as well as purified butter and honey) were distributed to the Sultan's guests and to the senior artists who took part in the 1720 celebrations in the capital: Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, *The 1720 Imperial Circumcision Celebrations in Istanbul*, Brill: Leiden 2021, p. 103-4, 107-8.

These rare lists supply first and foremost a new source for the study of Jewish cuisine in the center of the Empire. In fact, these scribbles might have been shopping lists of any *Edirneli* or *Istanbullu* home during the ‘Tulip Age’ (1718-1730). They are important for the understanding of material culture and especially food consumption among non-elite, middle-class people – Jews and non-Jews alike – in the larger Ottoman cities.

Transcription

fol. 2r

יום ב פ' 25

איג'ארי טוטון 24

בשר 16

ביצים הוצאה 06

נרות 09

יום ג' בוקלוז 24

קא[ני] 12

לחם[נ]פירות 06

יום ד' קמח תבלין 64

בולגור 51

156 פחם

fol. 7r

צורך הוצאת שבת

קמח וסולת 50

בשר ותרנגולת 60

דג 15

נרות איי אין לה 15

אודה 15

פירות ויין 50

תבלין, ירקות ופלפלין 30

נישאסטי [ו]מלח 9

ביצים 9

שמן 6

[סה"כ] 259

מים 18

[סה"כ] 277

ג'ורקג' 18

[סה"כ] 295

Translation

fol. 2r

Monday, 25 p

Tobacco for smoking 24⁶

Meat 16

Eggs 6

Candles 9

Tuesday

Bokloz [?] 24

Coffee 12

Bread, fruit 6

Wednesday

Flour and spices 64

*Bulğur*⁷ 51

⁶ The coin is not specified but it seems the prices are quoted in *pāre*, each is 1/40 of a *ğuruş*.

⁷ Parboiled cracked wheat

Coal 156

fol. 7r

The needed expenses for Saturday

Flour and semolina 50

Meat and chicken 60

Fish 15

Candles [are in the] 15

Room 15

Fruit and wine 50

Spices, vegetables and pepper 30

Wheat starch⁸, salt 9

Eggs 9

Oil 6

[Total] 259

Water 18

[Total] 277

Maker/seller of cakes and sweet buns or doughnuts⁹ 18

[Total sum] 295

⁸ *Nişāsta*

⁹ *Çörekci*

Bibliography

Primary Source

University Library for Languages and Civilizations in Paris, Ms. no. 8, System no. 990001833290205171. Courtesy of "Ktiv" Project, The National Library of Israel, Jerusalem National Library
[https://www.nli.org.il/he/manuscripts/NNL_ALEPH990001833290205171/NLI#\\$FL5878998](https://www.nli.org.il/he/manuscripts/NNL_ALEPH990001833290205171/NLI#$FL5878998)

Secondary Sources

- Akçetin, Elif and Suraiya Faroqhi eds.. *Living the Good Life: Consumption in the Qing and Ottoman Empires in the Eighteenth Century*. Leiden: Brill, 2017.
- Artan, Tülay. "Aspects of the Ottoman Elite's Food Consumption: Looking for "Staples", "Luxuries", and "Delicacies" in a Changing Century." Quataert Donald, ed., *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922: An Introduction*. 107-200. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000,.
- Ben-Naeh, Yaron. *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans*. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2008.
- Bilgin, Arif and Özge Samancı. eds., *Turkish Cuisine*. Ankara: Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2008.
- Elqayam, Avraham. "Sabbatean Cookery: Food, Memory, and Feminine Identity in Modern Turkey." *Kabbalah* 14 (2006): 7-46. [in Hebrew]
- Erdoğan, İşkorkutan Sinem. *The 1720 Imperial Circumcision Celebrations in Istanbul*. Leiden: Brill, 2021.
- Faroqhi, Suraiya and Christoph Neumann, eds.. *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture*. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag: 2003.
- Faroqhi, Suraiya. *Surviving Istanbul: Struggles, Feasts and Calamities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2023.
- Geršo Şarhon, Karen. "The Kitchen", in Ben Naeh Yaron, ed., *Turkey, Ben Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East: Jerusalem 2009*, 273-280 [in Hebrew].

- Grehan, James. *Everyday Life and Consumer Culture in 18th Century Damascus*. Seattle-London: University of Washington Press, 2007.
- Işın Priscilla, Mary. *Sherbet and Spice: The Story of Turkish Sweets and Deserts*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2013.
- Işın Priscilla, Mary. *Bountiful Empire: A History of Ottoman Cuisine*. London: Reaktion Books: 2018.
- Karagedikli, Güner and Yaron Ben-Naeh. "The Communal Authority in the Edirne Jewish Community: Reflections on the Names, c. 1720-1820", in: Subaşı Doğa Filiz and Bali Rıfat eds., *The Jewish Community of Edirne*. Istanbul: Libra Press: 2024, 65-91.
- Singer Amy, ed., *Starting with Food: Culinary Approaches to Ottoman History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011.
- Yerasimos, Marianna. *500 Years of Ottoman Cuisine*. Istanbul: Boyut Yayınları, 2015.
- Yerasimos, Marianna. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nde Yemek Kültürü*. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2019.

Fresh Fruit Provision to Mountain Bathhouses in Yalova

Deniz Özeren

Author:

Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Vienna

deniz.oezeren@univie.ac.at

ORCID: [0000-0002-9230-775X](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9230-775X)

Keywords:

Food Consumption, Fresh Fruit, Bathhouse, Yalova, 19th Century

Cite this article:

Özeren, Deniz. “Fresh Fruit Provision to Mountain Bathhouses in Yalova”

Keshif: E-Journal for Ottoman-Turkish Micro Editions 3/2 (Special Issue 2025): 52-59.

Available under <https://doi.org/10.25365/kshf-25-02-07>.

Article DOI [10.25365/kshf-25-02-07](https://doi.org/10.25365/kshf-25-02-07)

Published online July 07, 2025

© 2025 Deniz Özeren, published by *Keshif*: E-Journal for Ottoman-Turkish Micro Editions.

This is an Open Access article licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0. International License

(<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

Context

This document, found in the Ottoman State Archives under the classification of the Ministry of Finance (*Māliyye Nezāreti*) and catalogued as BOA. ML.EEM. 619/50, records the cost of fresh fruit for the month of August 1323 (August 1907). It details a transaction in which a greengrocer based in Istanbul supplied produce to the Yalova mountain bathhouses. The document includes the names of the fruits, their quantities, individual prices, and the dates of sale. All entries belonged to a single greengrocer, who operated a shop in Istanbul. The total cost of the fruits supplied to the bathhouse administration amounted to 207 *guruş*, and payment was made in silver *mecīdiyyes* which was a form of Ottoman coin that was introduced in 1844¹.

The significance of this document is threefold. First, it provides a list of produce that were available in Istanbul greengrocers in summer of 1907. There are few documents that show the products sold by Ottoman artisans, especially in the case of perishable goods. Thus, it is valuable to see a selection which was presumably consumed by ordinary people. Second, the document also provides price information. Any primary source that offers contemporary market prices for goods is beneficial to have a better understanding of the dynamics of the Ottoman market.

Third, the logistics of the provision are noteworthy. The route is especially significant since the products were coming from Istanbul, which is though close to Yalova, is not in the immediate vicinity. The perishable nature of these products necessitated a closer route for transportation, yet it was not the case here. Moreover, the amount of goods sold each day is considerably small. Thus, it is even more surprising to see this small amount coming from a farther destination. Therefore, it can be speculated that either the greengrocer had a depot near the bathhouse or he provided the fruit all at once and the fruit was sold within the bathhouse daily. The second option seems much more plausible since another similar document shows a different greengrocer from *Büyükkada* also sold fruits and vegetables to the same bathhouse in a similar manner.²

¹ TDV *İslam Ansiklopedisi Online*, s.v. “Mecidiye,” <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/mecidiye>

² BOA. ML.EEM. 695/11.

Thus, these fruits were probably sold to the visitors of the bathhouse by the administration of the establishment. The types of produce, on the other hand, seem relatively insignificant in terms of seasonal availability. It is very much predictable to see this selection in summer time since all of the produce are summer fruits.

In addition to serving as spaces of purification, Ottoman bathhouses functioned as important venues for ritual and social interaction. Women in particular—whose public lives were more restricted than those of men—used the *hamām* as a space to gather, converse, share meals, and celebrate significant life events. As central hubs of socialization and festivity, bathhouses placed food at the heart of communal experience. Eating was not merely incidental but an indispensable aspect of Ottoman bathhouse culture—deeply woven into its rituals and social practices. Classic dishes such as *börek*, pickles, and stuffed vine leaves were commonly brought along to be shared among attendees.³ However, the document analyzed here also suggests that some food was commercially available within the bathhouse. A list of fruits sold at the Yalova mountain bathhouses, likely provided by the bathhouse administration, indicates that provisions were made to accommodate the culinary needs of bathers on-site.

The prices recorded in this document offer limited insight on their own, particularly in the absence of comparable data. However, Şevket Pamuk's extensive research on 500 years of price data from Istanbul markets provides valuable context, particularly regarding the purchasing power of the population in the Ottoman capital. For the early 20th century, Pamuk presents wage data for both skilled and unskilled laborers. In 1906, for example, a skilled construction worker earned approximately 2,000 *ağçes* per day.⁴ The prices listed in the current document are recorded in *guruş*, and using the conversion rate of 1 *guruş* = 120 *ağçes*, we find that the price of one melon was 180 *ağçes*, while one *kıyye* (approximately 1.28 kg) of grapes or pears cost 480 *ağçes*, and peaches were priced at 420 *ağçes* per *kıyye*. Compared to a worker's wage, these prices suggest

³ Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 257.

⁴ Şevket Pamuk, *İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde 500 Yıllık Fiyatlar ve Ücretler, 1469–1998* (Ankara: State Institute of Statistics, Printing Division, December 2000), 74.

that such fruits—when sold at bathhouses—were likely very affordable even for many low-income individuals.

Pamuk's data also includes market prices from the same period, offering a useful basis for comparison. In 1907, for instance, 1 *kıyye* of hazelnuts cost 14 *guruş* (1,680 *akçes*), while 1 *kıyye* of chickpeas was priced at 65.5 *pāre* (approximately 1.6 *guruş* or 196.5 *akçes*).⁵ It is important to note, however, that these figures reflect wholesale prices, which were generally lower than retail prices. Given this context, the fruit prices recorded in the bathhouse document do not appear excessively high. In fact, their similarity to the price of chickpeas—one of the least expensive market items—fruit was not prohibitively expensive in general.

Transcription

		<i>fī</i>				
<i>tārīḥ</i>		<i>kıyye</i>	<i>aded</i>	<i>guruş santim</i>	<i>guruş santim</i>	
1 Ağustos 1323	<i>kāvūn</i>	-	6	1	50	9
1 Ağustos 1323	<i>üzüm</i>	4	-	4		16
2 Ağustos 1323	<i>armūd</i>	4	-	4		16
2 Ağustos 1323	<i>şeftālī</i>	4	-	3	50	14
3 Ağustos 1323	<i>kāvūn</i>	-	6	2	50	15
4 Ağustos 1323	<i>üzüm</i>	6	-	3	50	21
4 Ağustos 1323	<i>şeftālī</i>	3	-	3	50	10 50
6 Ağustos 1323	“[<i>şeftālī</i>]	4	-	3	50	14
7 Ağustos 1323	<i>üzüm</i>	5	-	3	50	17 50
8 Ağustos 1323	<i>şeftālī</i>	4	-	3	50	14

⁵ Pamuk, *İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde 500 Yıllık Fiyatlar ve Ücretler*, 172–73.

8 Ağustos 1323	üzüm	4	-	3	50	14	
13 Ağustos 1323	“ [üzüm]	5	-	3	50	17	50
16 Ağustos 1323	armūd	3	-	3	50	10	50
31 Ağustos 1323	incir	6	-	3		18	
						207	

Yalnız iki yüz yedi ğuruşdur

Yalova tağ hammâmlarına ağustos 1323 zarfında virdiim meyve eşmânı olan ber-vech-i bâlâ iki yüz yedi ğuruş sîm mecîdî yigirmi ğuruş cihetiyle mezkûr hammâmlar idâresine tamâmen ahz itdim 31 Ağustos 1323 [13 Eylül 1907]

Köprünün İstanbul cihetinde manav

[imza]⁶

Translation

Date		kıyye ⁷	piece	price		
				ğuruş ⁸	santim ⁹	ğuruş santim
1 August 1323	melons	-	6	1	50	9
1 August 1323	grapes	4	-	4		16
2 August 1323	pears	4	-	4		16
2 August 1323	peaches	4	-	3	50	14
3 August 1323	melons	-	6	2	50	15
4 August 1323	grapes	6	-	3	50	21
4 August 1323	peaches	3	-	3	50	10 50
6 August 1323	“ [peaches]	4	-	3	50	14

⁶ The name of the greengrocer is written in Greek alphabet. It is not legible.

⁷ Equals to approximately 1200 grams.

⁸ Ottoman currency.

⁹ One hundredth of a ğuruş.

7 August 1323	grapes	5	-	3	50	17	50
8 August 1323	peaches	4	-	3	50	14	
8 August 1323	grapes	4	-	3	50	14	
13 August 1323	“ [grapes]	5	-	3	50	17	50
16 August 1323	pears	3	-	3	50	10	50
31 August 1323	figs	6	-	3		18	
							207

Only two hundred and seven *guruş*

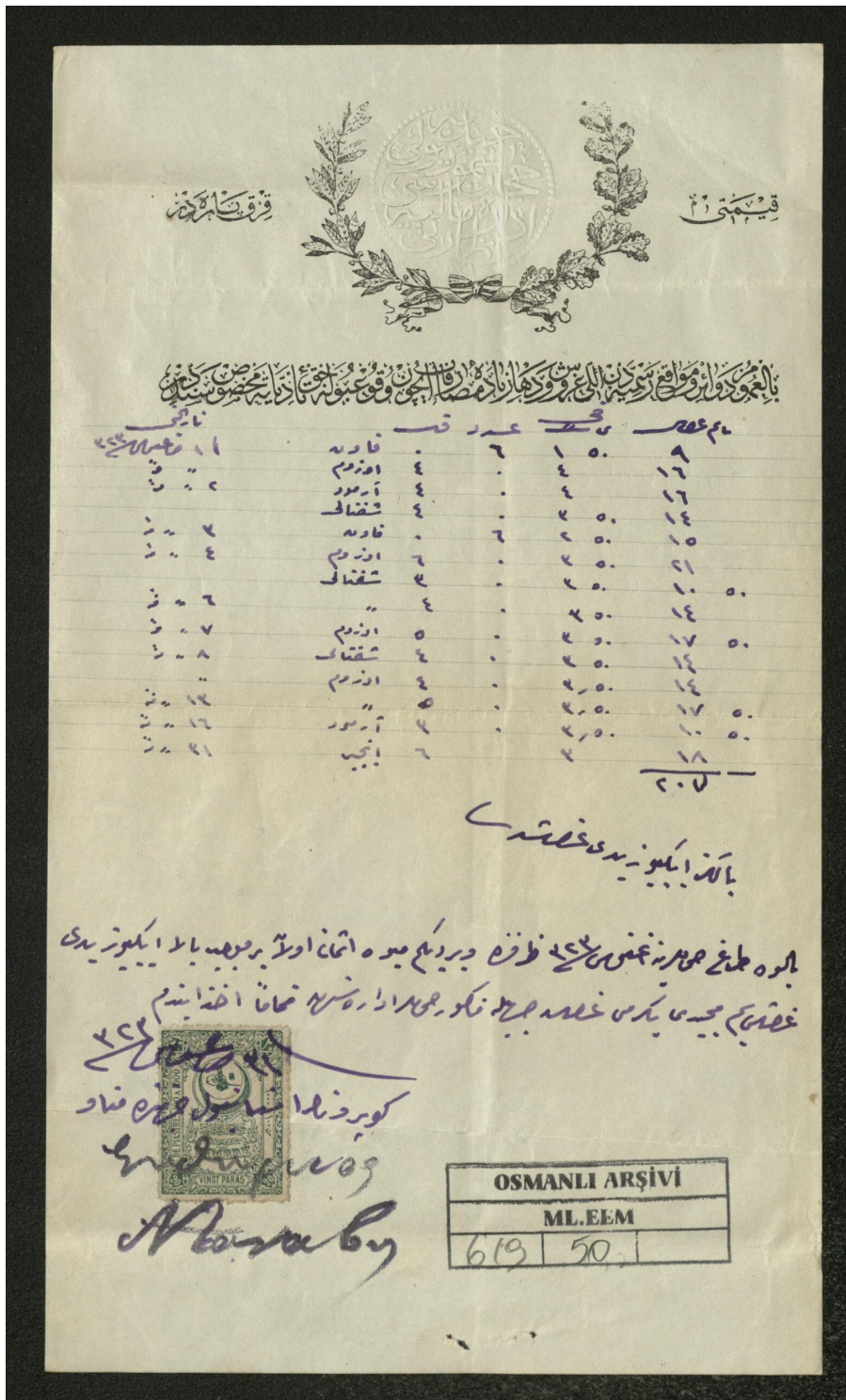
I received the above-mentioned two hundred and seven *guruş*, which is the price of the fruit I gave to the Yalova mountain bathhouse in August 1323, as silver *mecidiyye* twenty *guruş* from the said bathhouse administration in full.

31 August 1323 [13 September 1907]

The greengrocer on the Istanbul side of the bridge

[signature]

Facsimile



Bibliography

Primary Source

Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı, Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Maliye Nezareti Emlak-i Emiriyye Müdüriyeti (ML.EEM.), 619/50; 695/11.

Secondary Sources

Boyar, Ebru, and Kate Fleet. *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

DIA, *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, “Mecidiye.”

<https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/mecidiye>

Pamuk, Şevket. *İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde 500 Yıllık Fiyatlar ve Ücretler, 1469–1998*. Ankara: State Institute of Statistics, Printing Division, December 2000.

Traces of Consumption in the Expense Records of a *Salon* Near Şale Mansion

Hatice Gökçen Özkaya & Derya Düzgün Top

Authors:

Hatice Gökçen Özkaya: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Faculty of Architecture, Suleyman Demirel University, Isparta, Turkey

gokcenakgun@yahoo.com

ORCID: [0000-0002-0616-7253](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0616-7253)

Derya Düzgün Top: Dr. Faculty of Art and Design, Antalya Belek University, Antalya, Turkey

deryaaduzgun@gmail.com

ORCID: [0000-0003-4560-9699](https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4560-9699)

Keywords:

Expense List, *Salon*, Furniture, Furnishings, 19th Century

Cite this article:

Özkaya, Hatice Gökçen, Düzgün Top, Derya: “Traces of Consumption in the Expense Records of a *Salon* Near Şale Mansion”

Keshif: E-Journal for Ottoman-Turkish Micro Editions 3/2 (Special Issue 2025): 60-73.

Available under <https://doi.org/10.25365/kshf-25-02-08>.

Article DOI [10.25365/kshf-25-02-08](https://doi.org/10.25365/kshf-25-02-08)

Published online July 07, 2025

© 2025 Hatice Gökçen Özkaya, Derya Düzgün Top, published by *Keshif*: E-Journal for Ottoman-Turkish Micro Editions.

This is an Open Access article licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0. International License (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

Context

This document in the State Archives of the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, dated 08.04.1303 according to the *Rūmī* calendar (Gregorian calendar, April 20, 1887), is a record showing the list of expenses for the furnishing of a newly built *şalon* near the Şale Mansion of Yıldız Palace.¹ The *şalon* that is the subject of the list was an example of the new venues that came to prominence in the Ottoman palaces of the nineteenth century, which were organized differently from the reception venues of the traditional periods. *Şalons*, where high-level statesmen were usually hosted, banquets were held, distinguished invitations and official meetings were organized, played a central role in Ottoman palace culture by forming the outward-facing face of the palace in that period.

With their architectural details, Western-style furniture and furnishings, these spaces were a showcase of the aesthetics of the period, a visible representation of innovation and modernity, and became a symbol of prestige reflecting the economic and political power of the dynasty. Following this brief introduction to the *şalons* of the palaces, the details of the list in question are as follows: First of all, the purchases and related expenditures made on behalf of the sultan of the period, Abdülhamid Khan, from the store number 89 of Leon Rosenthal, the state furnisher located in Büyükhendek in Beyoğlu, were recorded by the store owner himself. The *şalon* equipment recorded in the list includes furniture and many furnishing items to be used in the space. To start with the furniture, it should be noted that these items purchased for the *salon* were movable furniture such as European-style chairs, pianos and *ķaryola*², which were exhibited as the representation of modern life. After these, the list includes important details about the furnishing materials used for these furnishings and curtains, another

¹ See for the original version of the document dated 26 Rajab 1304 in the Hijri calendar: Ottoman Archive (BOA), Hazine-i Hassa [HH.d...], No.12804, <https://katalog.devletarsivleri.gov.tr/Sayfalar/eSatis/BelgeGoster.aspx?ItemId=23188213&Hash=ABBC2EBFD67DF4FEC4920164836B647391B4AE6032B62A8C583D1427D55E02C2&Mi=0&A=2>.

² Although the original text refers to it as a “*ķaryola*”, it is likely that the furniture recorded under this name because of its location in the *salon* was a sofa-type furniture that could also be used for lounging. There is some confusion in this regard, hence it is referred to as “*ķaryola*” in this article, adhering to the original.

important furnishing element in the space. Each product purchased and used for the preparation of furniture and furnishings was listed with its quantity, dimensions and unit price.³ With all these data, this expense record is an independent document that has no sequel in the Ottoman archives.

The importance of the record is its quality of documentation of the new furniture and interior decoration items that were introduced into the Ottoman palace culture during this period of accelerated modernization. The document has great potential to be studied in comparison with the reception rooms of traditional Ottoman palaces and to reflect the luxury and taste of the modernizing Ottomans in their new spaces. In this context, Baytar and İrez's studies⁴ can form a basis for future studies in order to make such a comparison. Baytar reveals that in the reception spaces of the palaces of the traditional period, the need for seating was solved with fixed furniture such as *şedirs*⁵ and floor cushions, while requirements such as storage were solved with niches in the walls. İrez, on the other hand, states that in the nineteenth century, the fixed furnishing elements used in traditional reception rooms began to be replaced by movable furniture such as armchairs, sofas, tables, etc., which were European furniture, and that these types of furniture also took their place in palace *şalons*. These changes meant the transformation of purchasing and consumption habits, dominant tastes and the culture of life in the Ottoman Empire. Along with the aforementioned changes, purchasing and consumption habits, dominant tastes and culture of life in the Ottoman Empire began to transform. The expenditure items mentioned in the relevant document provide an example of the furniture and furnishings of public *şalon* spaces, paving the way for the

³ In the expense list, the products purchased were listed underneath, while the information recorded about the products was listed in columns from left to right as follows. Columns 1 and 2: Total prices, Column 3: Type and quantity-measurement of the product, Column 4: Unit price.

⁴ The difference in the furniture and furnishings of the *salons* of nineteenth-century palaces such as Dolmabahçe Palace, Beylerbeyi Palace, and Yıldız Palace, where guests were hosted, and Topkapı Palace, where ambassadors were welcomed, is a clear indication of architectural change. For the sources in question, see: İ. Baytar, 2015, "On Dokuzuncu Yüzyıl Osmanlı Saraylarına Ait Dekorasyon Katalogları." *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, 24, 1-24; F. İrez, *XIX. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Saray Mobilyası*. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Publications, 1989).

⁵ *Şedir* was a fixed kind of sitting furniture and they were built together with the house. See: Esra Üstündağ Selamoğlu, "Furniture and Household Goods in Late Nineteenth Century Istanbul", (Master Thesis, Bosphorus University, 2003).

evaluation of this space as a place of consumption. As a matter of fact, studies evaluating the issue of consumption in the late Ottoman period through spaces and objects of use reveal that they turned into commodities that were purchased and used based on preferences and tastes, and that public spaces and the items in them became objects of spectacle and exhibition that provided economic and cultural prestige to their owners.⁶ The furniture and furnishings purchased for the *şalon* mentioned in this document can also be evaluated in this way.

In this context, these items can be considered as commodity objects that can be used as an expression of ostentatious consumption in the nineteenth century.⁷ Undoubtedly, this list of expenditures for “a *şalon* near the Şale Mansion” alone cannot provide sufficient data to discuss the issue of ostentatious consumption; it must be evaluated by comparing it with other periods and documents. Therefore, the issue needs to be discussed and evaluated with new data. In conclusion, leaving this evaluation to future studies, what the document reveals, together with the existing studies in the literature, is that this *şalon*, a new space for the Ottomans, with its furniture, furnishings and many decorative details, constitutes an example of the change in consumption habits in Istanbul, and this example is a clear statement that all these details were ordered by the emperor.

Transcription

1

‘Abdulhamîd Han bin ‘Abdûlmecîd el-muẓaffer
dâ’ima (el-ğâzî)
Devlet-i Şâhânenîñ Mevrûşâtıcısı Leon Rozençal

⁶ Elizabeth B. Frierson, “Cheap and Easy: The Creation of Consumer Culture in Late Ottoman Society,” *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire 1550-1922*. Editor by Donald Quataert, (Newyork: State University of New York Press, 2000): 243-261; E. B. Nasır, Ş. Timur, and M.Ö. Gürel, 2020. Living Rooms Occupied: Narratives on the Recontextualization of the ‘Museum-Salon’ Practice in Modern Turkish Domesticity. *Home Cultures: The journal of Architecture, Design and Domestic Space*, 16(1), 63-92; D. Düzgün Top, “The New Space of Late Ottoman Istanbul Houses: Salon”, (Doctoral Thesis, Süleyman Demirel University, 2024).

⁷ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York: B.W.Huebsch, 1922).

Begoğlunda Büyükhendekde numero 89

<i>Şale Köşki civārında yeñi yapılan büyük şalonuñ mefrūşāt-ı meşārifi</i>			
0500	<i>Efendimiziñ oturduğu ota perdelerine yaldızlı baston takımı</i>		
2080	<i>Yaldızlı şandalye</i>	<i>‘aded/8</i>	260
0090	<i>Yaldızlı şandalyeler için çuka</i>	<i>rub ‘/2 endāze⁸/1</i>	
0160	<i>Tül perde</i>	<i>çift/1</i>	
0350	<i>Nerdubān başı perdelerine yaldızlı iki baston takımı</i>		
0450	<i>On ‘aded pencere için yaldızlı korniş</i>	<i>‘aded/10</i>	45
0294	<i>Perdeler için yaldızlı paraçol⁹</i>	21	14
0012	<i>Birinç kanca</i>	6	2
0240	<i>Alt katıñ pencereler-içün kırmızı bezden ma ‘mül şemsīye ma ‘a takım</i>	<i>‘aded/4</i>	60
0975	<i>Üst katıñ pencereleri şemsīyesi ve karyolaları için satinet astarı</i>	<i>endāze/195</i>	5
0290	<i>Perdeler için beyāz astar</i>	145	2
0140	<i>Karyolalar için ispanteri bezi</i>	028	5
0032	<i>Kırmızı kurdela</i>	<i>top/6</i>	12
0075	<i>Vatka</i>		
0085	<i>Pencereleriñ üzerindeki kırmızı perdeler için birinç tel ile piñon¹⁰</i>		
0040	<i>Kornişler için çivi</i>		
0120	<i>Çivi ve iplik</i>		
0025	<i>Perdeler için kaytān</i>		
0015	<i>Perdeler için halka</i>		

6013	<i>Naql</i>		

⁸ *Endāze*: Endāze is a unit of measurement used by the Ottomans. It is approximately 65 centimeters long according to the metric system. It was generally used to measure fabrics and similar products in bazaars and markets. Erkal Mehmet, “Arşın”, *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* v. 3, (İstanbul: Publications of Religious Foundation of Turkey, 1991): 411-413; Garo Kürkman, *Anatolian Weights and Measures*, (İstanbul: Suna İnan Kırac Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations, 2003).

⁹ Paraçol means “an element that connects building elements, usually placed at an angle, and provides them with additional strength”. It has a similar function in curtains, used to keep them angled and straight. See for detailed information TDK, “Paraçol”, *Türkçe Sözlük*, v.2, (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Publications, 1988): 1159.

¹⁰ *Piton* is thought to be a screw-type item used to secure the curtains to the wall/window.

	6013	<i>Naql</i>		
	0120	<i>Pencereleriñ üzerine beyāz tahtadan ma ‘mül dūr çerçeve</i>	<i>‘aded/8</i>	15
	0024	<i>Tül perdeler için beyāz kordon</i>	<i>‘aded/2</i>	12
	0036	<i>Perdeler için birinç tob</i>	6	6
	1980	<i>Ḥazīne-i ḥāşşa ma ‘rifetiyle mübāya ‘a idilen meşe şandalyeleriñ döşemesi</i>	<i>‘aded/33</i>	60
	5750	<i>Terzī yevmīyesi</i>	230	25
	1380	<i>Ṭapıçer yevmīyesi</i>	46	30
	1680	<i>Civānī yevmīyesi</i>	28	60
	0360	<i>Ḥammālīye</i>	24	15
	1280	<i>‘Araba meşārifi</i>		
	0160	<i>İki piyano örtüsünü dikmek için terzi yevmīyesi</i>	8	20

	17783	-----		
	0088 9	<i>Yüzde beş ticāret-i ‘ācizi</i>		
	01625	<i>Çākerleriniñ yevmīyesi</i>	25	65

20297	20297			

		<i>Ḥazīne-i Ḥāşşa ma ‘rifetiyle mübāya ‘a olunan kaṭīfeniñ yekūn on sekiz biñ dörtyüz seksen altı ğuruş beş santim ve Mekteb-i Şināyi ‘ ma ‘rifetiyle yapılan ḥarc yekūnı on üç biñ dört yüz elli ğuruş</i>		
01596		<i>Cem ‘an otuz bir biñ tokuz yüz otuz altı ğuruş beş santimdir yüzde beş ticāret-i ‘ācizi</i>		

21893[,5]		<i>Yalnız yigirmi bir biñ sekiz yüz toksan üç buçuk ğuruşdur</i>		
		<i>Leon Rosenthal</i>	<i>Fī 4 Nisān sene 1303</i>	
		<i>Bā-irāde-i seniye-i ḥazret-i pādişāhī derūn-ı defterde muḥarrer bulunan eşyā-yı mütenevvi ‘a döşemeci Mösyö Leon ma ‘rifetiyle b’l-i ‘māl zikr olunan maḥall-i ‘ālilerine vaz ‘</i>		

		<i>olundığı taşdıkan işbu mahalle şerh virilmiş olmağla ol bābda emr ü fermān hāzret-i min lehü'l-emrindir.</i> <i>Fī 8 Nisān sene 1303 bende-i müdir-i bekciler Salim</i> <i>(mühür)</i>	
--	--	---	--

3

		Şale Köşki civārında yeñi yapılan büyük şalona mekîn		
	5772	Ḳaryola ve perdeler içün şaçaḳ	metre/481	12
	0988	Şerîd	494	2
	1056	Ḳaryola içün püskül	‘aded/132	8
	0396	Ḳaryola içün gül	132	3
	1320	Ḳaryola içün ma ‘a Ḳordon büyük püskül	66	20
	0176	Ḳaryola içün büyük gül	22	8
	2080	Perde ḳolı	52	40
	1100	Ḳalın ḳordon	110	10

	12888			
	00176	‘İlāve olaraq ḳaryola püskülü	‘aded/22	8
	0066	Gül ‘ilāve	22	3
	0060	Şaçaḳ ‘ilāve	5	12

13190	13190			
	248	Yaldızlı şandalyeler içün ḳordon	31	8
	012	Def‘a ince ḳordon	4	3

260	260			
13450				

4

		<i>Hazîne-i Hâşşa ma'rifetiyle mübāya'a olunan kumâşlardan taraf-ı 'âcizâneme teslim olunanlardan şarf olunanlarıñ miqdârı kaṭîfe</i>		
<i>Santim</i>			<i>Santim</i>	
5	6642	<i>Ḳaṭîfe</i>	<i>santim/4 endāze/425</i>	1561
	7965	<i>Def'a kaṭîfe</i>	<i>metre/295</i>	27

	2000	Def ^{ca} kaṭīfe	050	40
	1180	Def ^{ca} kaṭīfe	059	20
	0699	Çit Köşki ilçi oṭasından artan kaṭīfe		
		santim	santim	
		10	024	
		-----	-----	
		10	428	4 425
5	18486			
		İşbu kaṭīfeden mefrūṣāt müdürü 'Ākif Bege teslīm olunub ikinci hazīnedārlarıñ oṭasıyçün şarf olunmaḵ üzre bir pāṛça kaṭīfe metre/4		
		Def ^{ca} karyola pāṛça 'aded/10	terbī'an metre/16	
		Def ^{ca} toḵuz pāṛçadan 'ibāret kaṭīfe.	terbī'an metre/17	
		Bekciler müdürü Sālim Ağaya hıfz olunmaḵ üzre teslīm olunmuş Üçüncü kadın efendi hazretleriniñ altı 'aded yaldızlı şandalyeyi kaplamak içün metre/4 kaṭīfe şarf olunmuş.		

Translation

1

Abdulhamid Khan, son of the always victorious Abdulmecid
State furnisher in *Beyoğlu, Büyükhendek*, no. 89

Furnishing expenses of the newly built large <i>salon</i> nearby the Şale Mansion				
	0500	A gilded curtain cane set for the the room where our <i>efendi</i> (Abdulhamid Khan) used to sit		
	2080	Gilded chair	piece /8	260
	0090	Sackcloth for gilded chairs	rub ' /2 endāze/1	
	0160	Tulle curtain	.../1	
	0350	Two gilded curtain cane sets for the head of the staircase		
	0450	Gilded cornice for ten windows	piece/10	45

0294	Gilded <i>paraçol</i> ¹¹ for curtains	Piece/21	14
0012	Brass hook	piece/6	2
0240	Window parasol set made of red cloth for the lower floor	piece/4	60
0975	Satin lining for upstairs window parasols and <i>karyolas</i>	<i>endāze</i> /195	5
0290	White lining for curtains	<i>endāze</i> /145	2
0140	<i>Ispanteri</i> ¹² cloth for the <i>ḳaryolas</i> ¹³	028	5
0032	Red ribbon	ball/6	12
0075	Wadding		
0085	Brass wire and <i>piton</i> for the red curtains over the windows		
0040	Nails for cornices		
0120	Nails and thread		
0025	Straps for curtains		
0015	Rings for curtains		

6013	Carried on		

2

6013	Carried on		
0120	White wooden frame on the windows	piece /8	15
0024	White cord for tulle curtains	piece /2	12
0036	Brass balls for curtains	6	6
1980	Upholstery of chairs purchased through <i>Hazīne-i Haşşa</i>	piece /33	60
5750	Tailor's daily wage	230	25
1380	Upholsterer's daily wage	46	30
1680	Young man's daily wage	28	60

¹¹ For the meaning of the term see Footnote 9.

¹² Although it is thought to have been a type of fabric used for upholstering *karyola*, no detailed information has been found about *ispanteri* cloth.

¹³ Although it is known that *karyola* was a piece of furniture used for sleeping in bedrooms, the furniture recorded under the same name in this document was located in the *salon*, i.e. the reception room. It was therefore likely to be a sofa-type furniture that could also be used for lying down, and the term has accordingly been left as *karyola* in its original form in the translation section. This is also explained in the context section. See footnote 2.

	0360	Porterage	24	15
	1280	Car expenses		
	0160	Tailor's wage for sewing two piano covers	8	20

	17783	-----		
	00889	Five percent <i>ticâret-i 'âciz</i> ¹⁴		
	01625	Daily wage of servants	25	65

20297	20297			

		The total amount of velvet purchased through <i>Hazîne-i Haşşa</i> is eighteen thousand four hundred and eighty-six <i>ğuruş</i> , five centims, and the total amount spent through <i>Mekteb-i Şinâyi'</i> is thirteen thousand four hundred and fifty <i>ğuruş</i>		
01596		Total thirty-one thousand one hundred and thirty-six <i>ğuruş</i> and five centims, five percent <i>ticâret-i 'âciz</i>		

21893[,5]		Twenty-one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three and a half <i>ğuruş</i>		
		Leon Rosenthal (signature) 4 April 1303		

3

		To be placed in the newly built great <i>salon</i> nearby the Şale Mansion		
	5772	Fringe for <i>ķaryola</i> and curtains	meter/481	12
	0988	Strip	494	2
	1056	Tassel for <i>ķaryola</i>	piece/132	8
	0396	Rose ¹⁵ for <i>ķaryola</i>	piece/132	3
	1320	Big tassel with cord for <i>ķaryola</i>	66	20
	0176	Big rose for <i>ķaryola</i>	22	8

¹⁴ Although we believe that the expenditure item mentioned here may be a kind of tax, unfortunately no information has been found on the subject.

¹⁵ The rose mentioned here was probably some kind of ornamental element used for textiles.

	2080	Curtain handle	52	40
	1100	Thick cord	110	10

	12888			
	00176	Additional tassel for <i>ḳaryola</i>	piece/22	8
	0066	Additional rose	22	3
	0060	Additional fringe	5	12

13190	13190			
	248	Cord for gilded chairs	31	8
	012	Thin cord	4	3

260	260			
13450				

4

		The amount of the fabrics purchased through <i>Ḥazīne-i Ḥaşşa</i> , which were delivered to me and consumed			
Centim			Centim		
5	6642	Velvet	centim /4	<i>endāze</i> /425	1561
	7965	Velvet	meter/295		27
	2000	Velvet	050		40
	1180	Velvet	059		20
	0699	Surplus velvet from the ambassador's room at the <i>Çit Mansion</i>			
		Centim		Centim	
		10	024		
		----	-----		-----
		10	428	4	425
5	18486				
		This velvet was delivered to Akif Bey, the director of furnishings, and a piece of velvet to be spent for the second <i>Ḥazīnedār</i> room			
				meter/4	
		<i>Ḳaryola</i> parts	pieces/10	square meter/16	

		Velvet consisting of nine pieces	square meter/17	
		Delivered to Salim Agha, Director of the Watchmen, for safekeeping. 4 meter velvet was used to cover the six gilded chairs of the third wife of the Sultan.		

Facsimile

[illegible][illegible]

1922.

Editor by Donald Quataert, (Newyork: State University of New York Press, 2000):
243-261.

Esra Üstündağ Selamoğlu, “Furniture and Household Goods in Late Nineteenth Century
Istanbul”, (Master Thesis, Bosphorus University, 2003).

Garo Kürkman, *Anatolian Weights and Measures*, (Istanbul: Suna İnan Kırac Research
Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations, 2003), Accessed 10.12.2024:

<https://archive.org/details/anatolianweightsooookrkm/page/n5/mode/2up>

F. İrez, *XIX. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Saray Mobilyası* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek
Kurumu Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Publications, 1989).

İ. Baytar, 2015. On Dokuzuncu Yüzyıl Osmanlı Saraylarına Ait Dekorasyon Katalogları.
Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı, 24, 1-24.

Mehmet Erkal, “Arşın”, *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* v.3, (Istanbul: Publications of Religious
Foundation of Turkey, 1991): 411-413. Accessed 10.12.2024:

<https://cdn2.islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/dosya/3/Co3001272.pdf>

T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York:
B.W. Huebsch, 1922).

TDK Türkçe Sözlük, v.2, (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Publications, 1988)

Revenues of Ahmet I's (1603-1617) Pious Foundation from Istanbul Taverns and Alcoholic Beverages

Fikret Yılmaz

Author:

Author: Prof. Dr., Faculty member, Bahçeşehir University, İstanbul
fikret.yilmaz@bau.edu.tr and yilmaz_fikret@hotmail.com
ORCID: [0000-0002-3552-1557](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3552-1557)

Keywords:

Istanbul, Raki, Wine, Alcoholic beverage, Taverns, Pious foundation, 17th century

Cite this article:

Yılmaz, Fikret. "Revenues of Ahmet I's (1603-1617) Pious Foundation from Istanbul Taverns and Alcoholic Beverages"
Keshif: E-Journal for Ottoman-Turkish Micro Editions 3/2 (Special Issue 2025): 74-87.
Available under <https://doi.org/10.25365/kshf-25-02-09>.

Article DOI [10.25365/kshf-25-02-09](https://doi.org/10.25365/kshf-25-02-09)

Published online July 07, 2025

© 2025 Fikret Yılmaz, published by *Keshif: E-Journal for Ottoman-Turkish Micro Editions*.

This is an Open Access article licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0. International License (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

Context

The construction of the complex of Sultan Ahmet I (1603-1617) began in 1609 and the monumental mosque, the centrepiece of the complex, was opened for worship in 1616.¹ However, it was inaugurated on 9 June 1617.²

Documents reflecting the allocation of funds for the maintenance, repair and expenses of the staff of this grandiose complex provide important details. Records in two contemporary ledgers reveal that the revenues of the complex and the mosque included taxes levied on those who produced and sold alcoholic beverages such as raki and wine. One of these ledgers is the accounting register published here³, and the other is a survey showing the results of the census of the non-Muslim population who migrated to and settled in the part of the Galata district roughly along the European side of the Bosphorus.⁴

The published ledger below shows that the taxes paid to the imperial treasury (*mīrī*) by the liquor producers in various neighbourhoods of İstanbul were allocated to the Pious Foundation of Sultan Ahmet I (1603-1617). The producers were composed of people from Talanda (Talanta/Atalanti) and Atine/Eyne (Athens) origin, who had been exiled from Eğriboz (Euboua/Khalkis) and settled in İstanbul.⁵ According to sources, it is known that between 2,500 and 15,000 Christians from Eğriboz were exiled to İstanbul

¹ Ahmet Vefa Çobanoğlu, "Sultan Ahmed Camii ve Külliyesi", *Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (=DİA), XXXVII (2009): 498.

² Mustafa Bilge, "Sultan Ahmet Camii ve Külliyesinin Açılış Merasimi", *Antikçağ'dan XXI. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*, VIII, (İstanbul, 2015): 231.

³ BOA.TS.MA.d., 5533.

⁴ BOA.TS.MA.d., 1321. This census register reflects the transactions between 1613 and 1619. It describes the registration of non-muslim people (*re'āyā*) in the settlements on the Bosphorus shore of the Galata district and the recording of their taxes as revenue for Sultan Ahmet I's foundation. This includes the taxes collected from wine producers. These important records will be published as an appendix to my forthcoming article on the Galata district and analysed together with the data from the register published here.

⁵ Both places were in Eğriboz (now Euboia or Khalkis). Atine was also written that allowed Eyne, Eğine and Ejine to be read: *Kaynaklarıyla Osmanlı Coğrafyası Yer Adları Sözlüğü*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı 2020): 66, 155, 435. See also on Eğriboz and the place names: Evangelia Balta, *Rural and Urban Population in the Sancak of Euripos in the Early 16th Century*, (Athens: Hetaireia Euvoikōn Spoudōn, 1992).

after the Ottoman conquest of the island in 1470.⁶ How many of them were settled inside the city and how many outside is not specified by the sources. However, since they are recorded as scattered *re'āyā*, it is possible to say that they left the neighbourhoods where they initially settled in the city. It is impossible to determine how long they were involved in the production and sale of spirits (raki and wine). The presence of boilers (*kazgan=imbik*) in the document indicates the production of raki. Therefore, both wine and raki were produced and sold. At the beginning of the document, it is noted that the shops and boilers are described as taverns (*meyhāne*). Therefore, it can be argued that both production and sale were carried out in the workplaces where the boilers and the shops are mentioned together.

Some of the taverns and shops can be identified as being located in the same locations as the Byzantine wineries documented in the 1455 survey of İstanbul. However, it is difficult to determine whether the same taverns continued to operate during the Ottoman period after the conquest (1453). In the 1455 survey, almost all of the taverns from the Byzantine period are noted as idle.⁷ Therefore, the 1455 survey should be evaluated not only as a record of the settlement and reconstruction of İstanbul after 1453, but also as a source providing an *in situ* view of the city at the time of the conquest. In the 1455 survey, the active taverns identified were located not in İstanbul but in Galata.⁸ However, it is clear from the ledger published here that in the 160 years following the conquest, an increasing number of taverns were opened in İstanbul. Moreover, it goes without saying that the number of taverns must have been higher than in the published document, since it only includes those associated with the foundation of Sultan Ahmet I.

⁶ Machiel Kiel, "Eğriboz", *DİA*, X (1994): 491; Halil İnalçık, "The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population of İstanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 23/24 (1969/1970): 238.

⁷ Halil İnalçık, *The Survey of İstanbul 1455*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Press 2012): 68, 71-72, 76-77, 79-81, 83-86.

⁸ Feridun Emecen, "1455 Tarihli İstanbul Tahrir Defteri'nin Kayıp Sayfaları", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, LVI (2020): 307-309.

According to this document, the taxes of 71 taverns or shops and 28 boilers (*kazgan*) were allocated to Sultan Ahmet I's endowment. The exact figures are 77 taverns or shops, and the 31 boilers; but the revenues of 9 taverns and 3 boilers were not included in the general total. After deducting the share of the wine inspector (*hamr emīni*), the revenue collected for the foundation reached 390,000 *aķçe*/aspers. It should be noted that the taxes on wine, raki and taverns made up a considerable part of the revenues of Sultan Ahmet I's foundation, which also received income from taverns outside of İstanbul.⁹ For this reason, during periods of the absolute prohibition of wine, the Foundation's income could be in deficit. For instance, the prohibition of wine during the reign of Mehmet IV (1648-1687) serves as a strong example of this. As a result of this prohibition, the foundation, which could not collect revenue from alcoholic beverages and taverns in the Galata district, suffered a deficit of 2,400,000 *aķçe* (48 purses/*kese*) between 1669 and 1673 (1080-1083).¹⁰

Transcription

Hüve

‘An maḥsūl-i rūsūmāt-ı mīrīye-yi rūz-ı hıızır-ı meyḥāneḥā-yı re ‘āyā-yı perākende-i Ṭalanda ve Eyne/Atine ‘an evḳāf-ı cāmi‘-i şerīf-i cedīd-i ḥazret-i şulṭān Aḥmed ḥān ḥullidet ḥilāfetihū ilā yevmi‘l-mīzān ‘an vācib-i sene erba‘a ve ‘ısrīn ve elf. [7 Rebīü‘l-āḥīr] 1024 / [6 Mayıs] 1615.

He

An account of the *Rūz-i Hıızır* installment of the revenue from the taverns of the scattered subjects of Talanda and Eyne/Atine (Athens) in İstanbul, which was allocated to the foundation of Sultan Ahmet Han's new mosque and had previously been paid to the imperial treasury, [7 Rebīü'l-āḥīr] 1024/ 6 May 1615.

⁹ BOA.TS.MA.d., 1321.

¹⁰ BOA. TK.GM.d., 2208, v.48b.

'An sākinān-ı Balık Bāzārı/From the Residents of Balık Pazarı [Mod. Balık Pazarı].			
	Dükkān- bāb/Taverns- Number of shops	ķazġan/boiler	Aķçe/Aspers
Kosta veled-i ¹¹ Manol	2	1	12000
Yani v. Yorgi	1	-	4000
Yorgi v. Movi	-	1	4000
Alaksandire [v.] Vasil	1	1	-
Kostandin v. Dimitri	1	-	4000
Anastas v. Yani	2	-	8000
İskerlet v. Kosta	1	1	8000
Manol v. Yorgi	1	-	4000
Yani v. Dimo	1	2	12000
Kosta v. Yani	1	-	4000
Yorgi v. İlya	1	1	8000
Yorgi v. Nikola	1	1	8000
Manol v. Todori	-	1	4000
Yani v. Dimo	-	1	-
Manol v. Yorgi	-	1	4000
Yorgi v. Nikola	2	1	-
Panayot v. Yani	-	1	4000
Laskari v. Mendeli	1	-	4000
Yekūn/Sum	16	13	92.000
'An sākinān-ı Cebe 'Alī / From the residents of Cebe 'Alī [Mod. Cibali].			
	Dükkān- bāb/Taverns- Number of shops	ķazġan/boiler	Aķçe/Aspers
İlya v. Yani	1	1	8000
Yani v. Dimo	1	-	4000
Sekolor? v. Yorgi	1	-	4000
İstani v. Yani	1	-	4000
Dimitri v. Poliharvi	1	1	8000
Todori v. Yorgi	1	-	4000
Yekūn/Sum	6	2	32.000

¹¹ Veled-i = child of/son of.

‘An sākinān-ı Bāb-ı Ebā Eyyüb-ı Enşārī/From the residents of Ebā Eyyüb-ı Enşārī Gate.				
	Dükkān-bāb/Taverns- Number of shops	ķazġan/boiler	Aķçe/Aspers	
Nikola v. Yorgi	1	1	8000	
Nikola v. Yani	1	1	8000	
Yeķūn/Sum	2	2	16.000	
‘An sākinān-ı Bāb-ı Yahūdī/From the Residents of the Bāb-ı Yahūdī [Mod.Yahudi Kapı/Jewish Gate].				
	Dükkān-bāb/Taverns- Number of shops	ķazġan/boiler	Aķçe/Aspers	
Yani v. Dimo	1	-	4000	
Pavlo v. Yani	1	-	4000	
Yeķūn/Sum	2	-	8000	
‘An sākinān-ı Fenar/From the Fenar residents.				
	Dükkān-bāb/Taverns- Number of shops	ķazġan/boiler	Aķçe/Aspers	
Manol v. Dimitri	1	-	4000	
Manol v. Dimitri	1	-	4000	
Laskari v. Dimitri	2	-	8000	
Yorgi v. Manol	2	-	-	Reft be maĥalle-yi Ćingāne/He moved to the Ćingene neighbourhood.
Kiryaki v. Kosta	1	-	-	
Yani v. Yorgi	1	-	4000	Reft be maĥalle-yi Ŗarmaşıķ/He moved to the Ŗarmaşıķ neighbourhood.
Yeķūn/Sum	8	-	20.000	
‘An sākinān-ı maĥalle-yi Nev/ From the residents of New Neighbourhood.				
	Dükkān-bāb/Taverns-	ķazġan/boiler	Aķçe/Aspers	

	Number of shops			
Dimo v. Manol	1	-	4000	
Kirko v. Gūka	1	-	4000	
Dimitri v. Dime	1	-	4000	
Panaya v. Gūka	1	-	4000	
İstefan v. Yorgi	1	-	4000	
Yorgi v. Nikola	1	-	4000	
Yorgi v. Seraf	1	-	-	[Unwritten value]
<i>Yekūn/Sum</i>	7	-	24.000	
‘An sākinān-ı Bāb-ı Kūm/From the residents of Bāb-ı Kūm [Mod. Kumkapı].				
	<i>Dükkān-bāb/Taverns- Number of shops</i>	<i>ķazġan/boiler</i>	<i>Aķçe/Aspers</i>	
Dimitri v. Yorgi	2	-	8000	
Kosta v. Dimitri	3	-	12000	
Yorgi v. Todori	1	-	4000	
Kiro v. İstanko	1	-	4000	
Yani v. İstimad	2	1	12000	
Kostandin v. Yani	2	1	12000	
Kirko v. İstanko	-	1	4000	
<i>Yekūn/Sum</i>	11	3	56.000	
‘An sākinān-ı Kāpān-ı Daķiķ/From the residents of Kāpān-ı Daķiķ [Mod. Unkapanı].				
	<i>Dükkān-bāb/Taverns- Number of shops</i>	<i>ķazġan/boiler</i>	<i>Aķçe/Aspers</i>	
Yani v. Miħal	1	-	4000	
Yorgi v. Dimo	1	1	8000	
İstanos v. Yani	-	1	4000	
Miħal v. İstani	2	-	8000	
Yani v. İstimad	1	1	8000	
<i>Yekūn/Sum</i>	5	3	32.000	
‘An sākinān-ı maħalle-yi Ćingāne/ From the residents of Ćingāne neighbourhood.				
	<i>Dükkān-bāb/Taverns- Number of shops</i>	<i>ķazġan/boiler</i>	<i>Aķçe/Aspers</i>	

Todori v. [yazılmamış/unwritten]	1	-	4000
Yorgi v. Manol	1	-	4000
Yekûn/Sum	2	-	8000
‘An sâkinân-ı Tahte’l-ķal’a/ From the residents of Tahte’l-ķal’a [Mod. Tahtakale].			
	<i>Dükkân- bâb/Taverns- Number of shops</i>	<i>ķazġan/boiler</i>	<i>Aķçe/Aspers</i>
Andon v. Pandili	1	1	8000
Yekûn/Sum	1	1	8000
‘An sâkinân-ı Bâb-ı Edirne/ From the residents of Bâb-ı Edirne [Mod. Edirnekapı].			
	<i>Dükkân- bâb/Taverns- Number of shops</i>	<i>ķazġan/boiler</i>	<i>Aķçe/Aspers</i>
Agosti v. Maco	1	-	4000
Dimo v. Gûka	1	-	4000
Yekûn/Sum	2	-	8000
‘An sâkinân-ı maħalle-yi Şarmaşık / From the residents of Şarmaşık neighbourhood.			
	<i>Dükkân- bâb/Taverns- Number of shops</i>	<i>ķazġan/boiler</i>	<i>Aķçe/Aspers</i>
Kiryaki v. Kosta	1	-	4000
Yekûn/Sum	1	-	4000
‘An sâkinân-ı Lanġa/ From the residents of Lanġa [Mod. Langa].			
page 2	<i>Dükkân- bâb/Taverns- Number of shops</i>	<i>ķazġan/boiler</i>	<i>Aķçe/Aspers</i>
Zaharya v. Yani	1	-	4000
Yorgi v. Dimo	1	-	4000
Lasgari v. Dimitri	1	-	4000
Yekûn/Sum	3	-	12.000
‘An sâkinân-ı maħalle-yi Kiremid der nezd-i Balat/From the residents of the Kiremid neighbourhood near Balat [Balat].			

	<i>Dükkân-bâb/Taverns- Number of shops</i>	<i>kazğan/boiler</i>	<i>Akçe/Aspers</i>
Simo v. Yani	1	-	4000
<i>Yeğün/Sum</i>	1	-	4000
'An sâkinân-ı maḥalle-yi Kireç ('an)¹² der nezd-i mezbûre/ From the residents of the Kireç neighbourhood in the above-mentioned place [Balat].			
	<i>Dükkân-bâb/Taverns- Number of shops</i>	<i>kazğan/boiler</i>	<i>Akçe/Aspers</i>
Dimitri v. Miko	1	1	8000
<i>Yeğün/Sum</i>	1	1	8000

Cem 'an/Total: Dükkân-bâb/Taverns-Numbers of shops: 62, kazğan/boilers: 21

Akçe/Aspers: 332,000.

'An re 'âyâ-yı perâkende-i Eyne/Atine/ From the scattered people of Eyne/Atine [Mod. Athens].

<i>Birün-ı Bâb-ı Yahūdî/Outside of the Bâb-ı Yahūdî neighbourhood.</i>			
	<i>Dükkân-bâb/Taverns- Number of shops</i>	<i>kazğan/boiler</i>	<i>Akçe/Aspers</i>
Panayot v. İstimad	1	1	8000
<i>Der Bâb-ı Küm/ In Bâb-ı Küm [Mod. Kumkapı].</i>			
	<i>Dükkân-bâb/Taverns- Number of shops</i>	<i>kazğan/boiler</i>	<i>Akçe/Aspers</i>
Yani v. Dimitri	-	1	4000
<i>Der Bâb-ı Aya/ In Bâb-ı Aya [Mod. Ayakapı].</i>			

¹² The preceding word is "of/from" ('an), but the meaning suggests a scribal error.

	<i>Dükkân-bâb</i> /Taverns- Number of shops	<i>kazğan</i> /boiler	<i>Akçe</i> /Aspers	
İlya v. Mihal	1	1	8000	<i>huşuş-ı Muştafâ ağa emîn-i hamr</i> / The share of Muştafâ Agha, the superintendent of wine 4000 <i>huşuş-ı İshâk el-muḥẓîr</i> /The share of bailiff İshâk 4000
<i>Der Bâb-ı mezbûr</i>/ In the above-mentioned neighbourhood [Mod. Ayakapı]				
	<i>Dükkân-bâb</i> /Taverns- Number of shops	<i>kazğan</i> /boiler	<i>Akçe</i> /Aspers	
Dimitri v.Toma	1	-	4000	<i>huşuş-ı Muştafâ ağa emîn-i hamr</i> / The share of Muştafâ Agha, the superintendent of wine 2000 <i>huşuş-ı İshâk el-muḥẓîr</i> /The share of bailiff İshâk 2000
<i>Dâhi Bâb-ı Yahūdî</i> / This is also at the Bâb-ı Yahūdî/ Jewish Gate [Mod. Yahudi Kapı].				
	<i>Dükkân-bâb</i> /Taverns-	<i>kazğan</i> /boiler	<i>Akçe</i> /Aspers	

	Number of shops		
Kiro v. Nikola	1	-	4000
Der Bāb-ı ̖um/ In Bāb-ı ̖um [Mod. Kumkapı].			
	<i>Dükkān-bāb/Taverns-</i> Number of shops	<i>ķazġan/boiler</i>	<i>Aķçe/Aspers</i>
Manol v. Nikola	1	-	4000
Aleksi v. Toma	-	2	8000
Der Bāb-ı mezbūr/ In the above-mentioned neighbourhood [Mod. Kumkapı]			
	<i>Dükkān-bāb/Taverns-</i> Number of shops	<i>ķazġan/boiler</i>	<i>Aķçe/Aspers</i>
Andorya v. Yorgi	-	1	4000
Manol v. Yorgi	1	-	4000
Yani v. Kabasakal	-	1	4000
Yorgi v. Dimitri	1	-	4000
Der Bāb-ı Cebe ‘Alī /In the Gate of Cebe ‘Alī neighbourhood [Mod. Cibali].			
	<i>Dükkān-bāb/Taverns-</i> Number of shops	<i>ķazġan/boiler</i>	<i>Aķçe/Aspers</i>
Nikola v. Yani	1	-	4000
Der Balık [Bazarı?]¹³			
	<i>Dükkān-bāb/Taverns-</i> Number of shops	<i>ķazġan/boiler</i>	<i>Aķçe/Aspers</i>
Yorgi v. Kosta	1	-	4000
<i>Yekūn /Sum</i>	9	7	58000

¹³ An unreadable word.

In total: 64,000 *aķçe*/aspers

huşuş-ı Muştafa aĝa/The share of Muştafa Aĝa: 6000

el-bākī huşuş-ı [vakf] / remaining share of the foundation (= Balance): 58,000.

(*Cem 'i-l*) *Cem 'ān*/Final total: *Dükkān-bāb*/Taverns-Number of shops: 71-

ķazĝan/boilers: 28

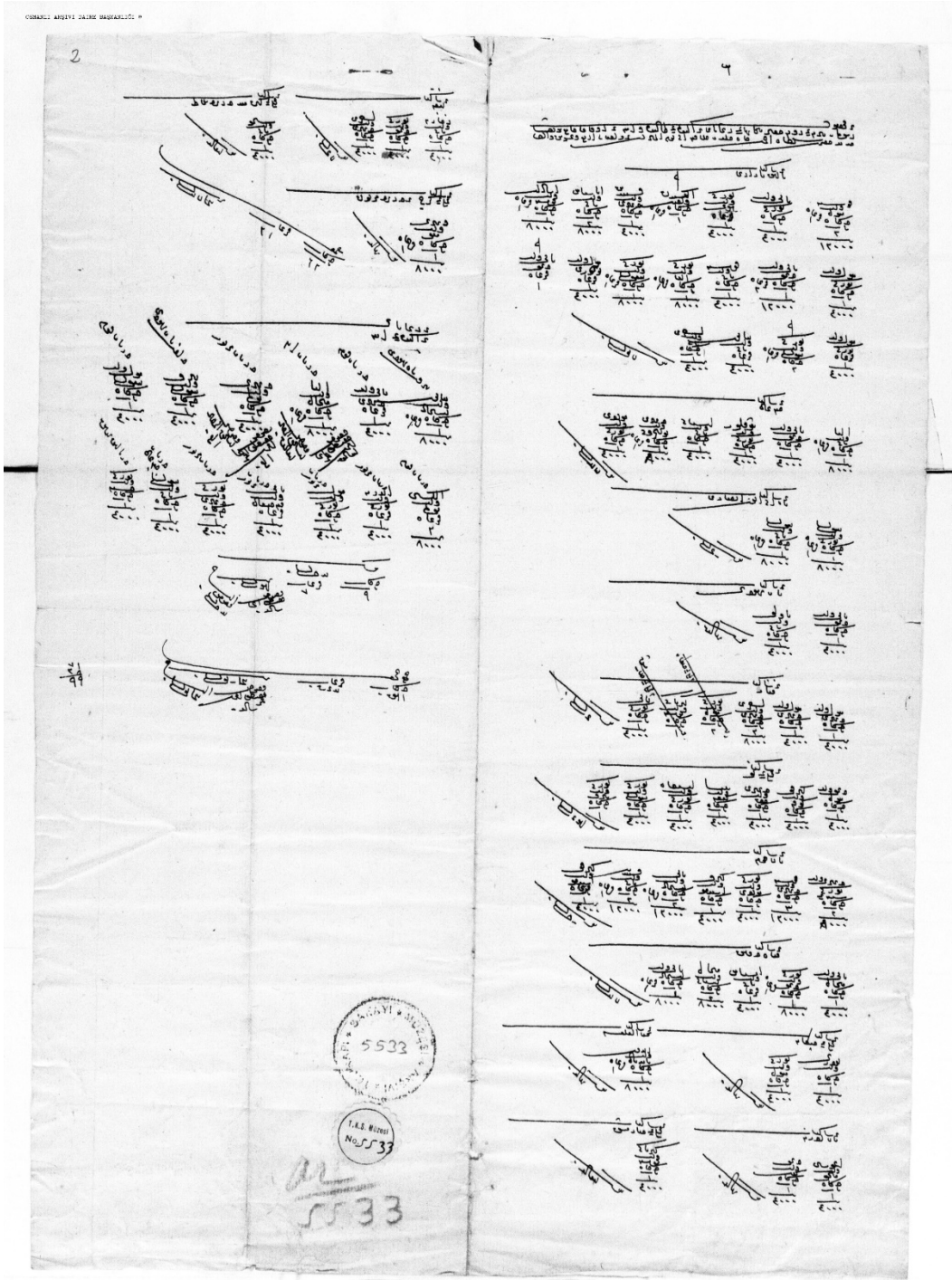
Grand total: 396,000 *aķçe*/aspers

huşuş-ı Muştafa aĝa emīn-i ĥamr / The share of Muştafa Aĝa, the superintendent of wine 6000.¹⁴

el-Bākī/Balance: 390,000 *aķçe*/aspers.

¹⁴ In fact, six thousand aspers (*aķçe*) were also allocated to İshak, the bailiff, but his share was not included in the final account.

Facsimile bu sayfaya



D.05533.0001.00

Bibliography

Primary Sources

BOA. TS.MA.d., 1321 and 5533.

BOA. TK.GM.d., 2208.

Secondary Sources

Balta, Evangelia. *Rural and Urban Population in the Sancak of Euripos in the Early 16th Century*, Athens: Hetaireia Euvoikōn Spoudōn 1992.

Bilge, Mustafa. "Sultan Ahmet Camii ve Külliyesinin Açılış Merasimi", *Antikçağ'dan XXI. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*, VIII, İstanbul, 2015, 231-233.

Çobanoğlu, Ahmet Vefa. "Sultan Ahmed Camii ve Külliyesi", *Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, XXXVII (2009), 497-503.

Emecen, Feridun. "1455 Tarihli İstanbul Tahrir Defteri'nin Kayıp Sayfaları", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, LVI (2020), 287-317.

İnalcık, Halil. "The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 23/24 (1969/1970), 231-249.

İnalcık, Halil, *The Survey of İstanbul 1455*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Press, 2012.

Kaynaklarıyla Osmanlı Coğrafyası Yer Adları Sözlüğü. İstanbul: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı, 2020.

Kiel, Machiel. "Eğriboz", *Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, X (1994), 491-493.

Summary of illegible or debatable words

Özgür Gündiken - An Ottoman Bureaucrat's Luxury Purchases: The 1898 Invoice of Hasan Tahsin Pasha

برای عیال		
۴۰		
۱		۵۰
۴۵		
۵۶		۶۰
۵۶		۶۸
۴۵		
۴۷		
۴۵		
۷۴۰		
۹۸۹		۴۸
۷۹		۶۰
۴۸		
۴۴		
۱۱۴۹		۵۸

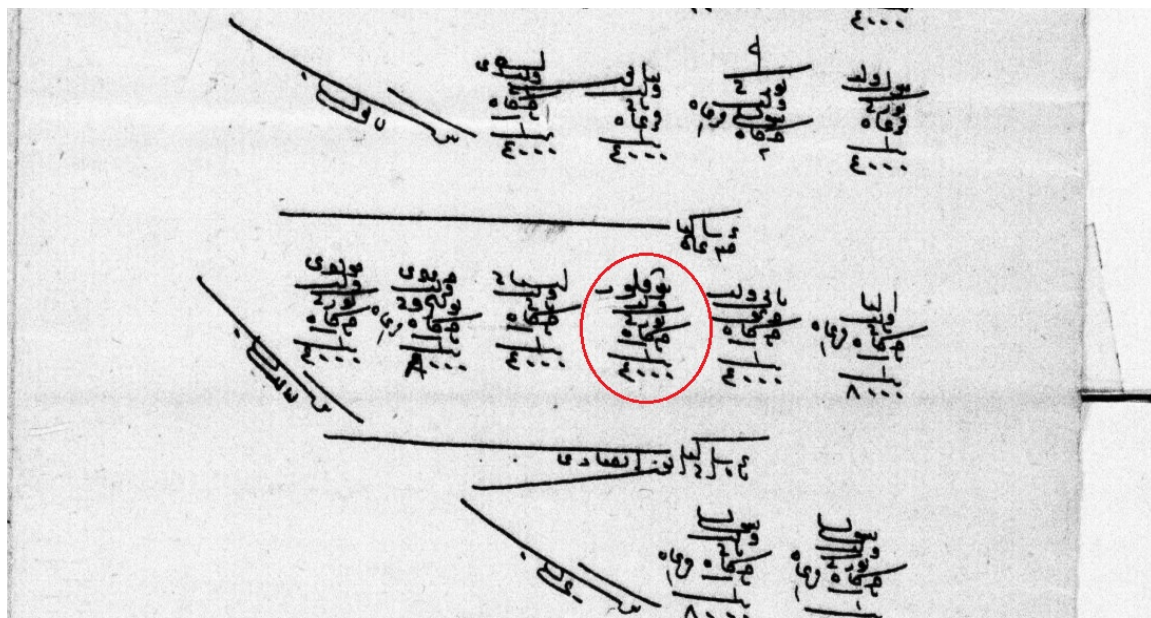
gümüş şam‘dān çift[?] h[?] fī bedeli

sevr vazo kebīr çift[?]

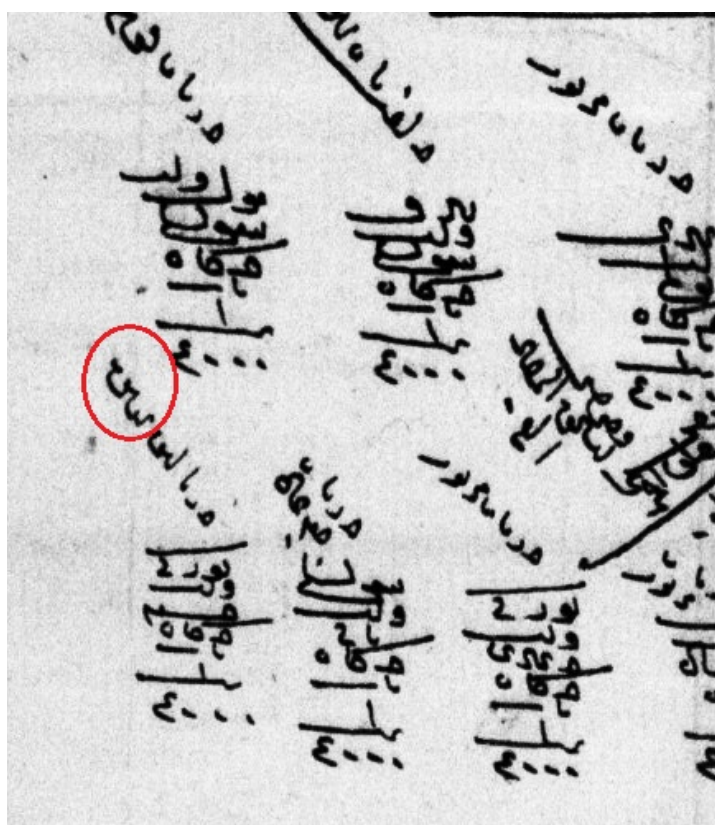
eski ma'den mā'ī çiçeklik çift[?]

paris-kārī [...]

Fikret Yılmaz - Revenues of Ahmet I's (1603-1617) Pious Foundation from Istanbul
Taverns and Alcoholic Beverages



Sekolor [?] v. Yorgi



Der Balık Bazarı [?]